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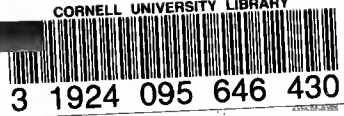
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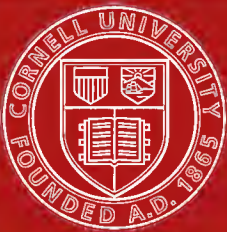
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STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA PUBLICATIONS.

HISTORICAL MONOGRAPH

No. I.

HISTORY
OF
THE AMANA SOCIETY
OR
COMMUNITY OF TRUE INSPIRATION.

BY
WILLIAM RUFUS PERKINS, A.M.,
PROFESSOR OF HISTORY,
AND
BARTHINIUS L. WICK, '91.

IOWA CITY:
PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY.
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PREFACE.

The account of the Amana Society, or Community of True Inspiration, which is contained in the following pages is intended to be a historical sketch of its origin and its development up to the present time. It is viewed strictly from the historical standpoint and not from the communistic. The latter phase of it has received only such attention as became necessary from its historical importance, for the full elaboration of its communistic character belongs rather to the domain of Political Science.

In order to obtain a full understanding of the true nature of the Society it has been thought necessary, and indeed it was indispensable, to enter briefly into the history of Mysticism and Pietism, the sources of its origin. This *résumé* is followed by a history of the Society from its earliest beginnings to the year 1817, illustrated by accounts of the lives of its most prominent members. Then follows a sketch of the revival of 1817, then a history of the emigration to Ebenezer, New York, and finally of that to Iowa.

Although the object of this monograph is strictly historical, brief statements have been added as to the nature of their communistic principles, their mode of life and their financial success. In the Appendixes will be found their constitution, an estimate of their property and a list of the sources and authorities consulted.

The official consent of the Society has been given to this publication, the manuscript has been read by a number of the Trustees and the statements herein contained may be considered as authoritative. This is the only paper upon the Amana Society which has received its sanction.

The Trustees have kindly given the authors access to their records and publications—the latter being intended exclusively for the use of the members and having no circulation beyond them. All of these are written and printed in the German language. From these sources have been translated the *lives* of the early members, and they have been translated without comment and with as much simplicity of diction as characterized the originals. Although it may perhaps be thought that these have been given with too much—possibly with weariness of detail, still they portray, as nothing else could portray, the tendencies which have made the Society what it is.

The authors desire to acknowledge their obligation to the Trustees of the Society for courtesy, and for aid freely given them while prosecuting their researches, and especially to thank Mr. Gottlieb Scheuner and Mr. Abraham Noé for unnumbered acts of kindness.

It is hoped that this publication, based upon exhaustive original research, and, in which sources never before consulted have been freely used, may serve to correct the many false views which prevail in this State, and in this country concerning the true character and aims of the Society.

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THE AMANA SOCIETY.

The Amana Society or Community of True Inspiration, as it is called by its members, is situated in Iowa County, Iowa, about twenty miles west of Iowa City, and eleven miles east of Marengo. The Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific and the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railways pass through or near their villages, seven in number. There are at present sixteen hundred and eighty-eight members belonging to the Society. This is what remains of that great revival movement which took place in Germany in the eighteenth century.

The story of this honest, God-fearing people is a history of suffering, of hardships and of innumerable disappointments; their piety, their uprightness and their endurance can not but command respect.

As the object of this monograph is to give a history of the Society from its *Urquelle* to the present day, it will be necessary to go back to a time anterior to its foundation and thus obtain as correct an appreciation as possible of the religious movement which took place in the latter half of the seventeenth century. This will lead us back to Mysticism and Pietism, two factors which play a conspicuous part in the church history of Germany. As the Community of True Inspiration has embodied much both of Mysticism and Pietism, we must, in order to understand the religious doctrines of the Society, trace briefly the history of these beliefs. Mysticism and Pietism are not the same, although both made a pure life essential to the attainment of future happiness.

I. MYSTICISM.

The history of Mysticism is as old as the world. It grew into notice in Europe in the fourth century, when the followers of Plato took for their foundation-stone his famous doctrine: "That divine nature was diffused through all human souls; that the faculty of reason from which proceed the health and vigor of the mind was an emanation from God into the human soul, and comprehended in it, the principles and elements of all truth." These Mystics maintained that silence was the only method by which the hidden word was excited to produce an inward feeling of joy when the knowledge of hidden things was shown to man. This little sect of believers spread its doctrines towards the West. In the twelfth century they were the most enthusiastic to expound religion; in the next century we find the Mystics the most formidable opponents of the Schoolmen. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries they had believers all over Europe. "Up to the time of the Reformation if any spark of real piety existed it was found among the Mystics."¹

After seeking God from without, they finally sought Him from within, they listened to the 'knockings at their hearts and had conscience judge of right and wrong.' This led to the belief that man could come into union with God by this self-surrender of the heart in silence to divine influence, and that by this method could be obtained the spiritual communion which they sought. Tholuck says, "There is a law of seasons in the spiritual as well as in the physical world, and when the time comes these phenomena reveal themselves in different places."

At this period (1650-1700) Mysticism had become universal. In Spain and Italy it was named Quietism, in France it took the name of Jansenism, in England it appeared under the disguised name of Quakerism, and in Germany it took the name of Pietism. In all these countries it fought against

¹ Dr. Howe's "*Christian History*."

religious formality and against dogmatism; these believers put, in place of formalism, spirituality, which constitutes the highest part of man's nature. It became a religion of the heart instead of form. There was a deeply hidden cause for all this speculation. Men had become weary of the endless disputes about tenets and creeds; they had lost all faith in outward religious profession; they were at last ready to fall back on something deeper and better than mere formality; they wanted "to worship God in spirit and in truth." They claimed "God could be found by an inner light," instead of, as in the speculative age was thought necessary, by philosophic investigation. These pious believers maintained, as Schleiermacher (1768-1834) expresses it, that "religion does not reside in the intelligence or will as active powers, but in the sensibility."

In 1675 Miguel de Molinos (1627-1696), a native of Spain, but an Italian by adoption, published a book called "*The Spiritual Guide*." It was Mystical in its nature, but it appealed to the heart and was widely read. Molinos was persecuted, and was driven from one place to another by the authorities of church and state, but his book passed from one end of Italy to the other. The religion which he tried to establish was called Quietism, for he held that 'a man to be a Christian must resign himself *quietly* to God.' Molinos maintained that man needed no mediator between himself and God, but that every man could seek Christ without any human help, and be forgiven. This bold doctrine was too much for that age, and the brave Molinos was put into prison. His only crime was that he preferred the religion of the heart to that of the rosary; he wanted to do away with superstitious formality and put in place of it a religious devotion in which all could take part. As he would not retract what he felt to be the truth, he was placed in close confinement until his death, probably in 1696.

The work of Molinos was taken up in France by that admirable woman, Madame Guyon (1648-1717), a woman of deep and sincere piety. Her books are full of spiritual thought, of practical charity and disinterested love. She com-

mands "prayer in silence, prayer unlimited to times or seasons, unhindered by words." She calls this condition "a state of feeling rather than an act, a sentiment rather than a request, a continued sense of submission, which breathes moment by moment from the serene depths of the soul." In her efforts to promote true Christianity she was assisted by Fénelon, the great prelate, who eloquently supported the doctrine of Quietism. That such a great man should defend Mysticism set the ecclesiastical authorities to thinking. The end of the long controversy that followed was that Madame Guyon was ordered to retire to Switzerland, and Fénelon was severely denounced by the authorities of the church and banished from court. Although Mysticism had many other advocates, with the loss of these two the influence of the tidal wave of Mysticism which was sweeping over Europe at this time, ceased in France.

Vaughan says: "In France we have the mysticism of sentiment, in Germany the mysticism of thought." A great many of the German Mystics have been secluded students; such, at least, was Thomas à Kempis. He perhaps had more influence than any of the rest, for he leaves out philosophy and intellect and appeals to the heart. The works of Kempis have been read by thousands of people. He is simple and plain and can be easily understood by the uneducated. Tauler is another, who turned away from the schools to intuitionism, saying that "religion is something that can not be revealed by any method of human wisdom, but is revealed direct from God."

The most noted Mystic of Germany, however, was Jacob Böhme (1575-1624), a poor shoemaker of Silesia. In his soul there was a deep consciousness of right and wrong; he felt that he was inspired by an inward light which taught him the essence of all things. Böhme accomplished a great work for the church in Germany, for he summoned the people to awake from their lethargy and examine their hearts. His works are many. The "*Aurora*" is the best known. Schlegel says that "Böhme is equal, if not superior, to Klopstock, Milton, and

Dante." A recent writer has said that he could not see how so great a doctrine (the inward light) could have originated in so ignorant a man. It is true that Böhme was not educated in the schools—neither was Shakespeare, for that matter—but Böhme was a born philosopher, whose writings have been studied by such men as Hegel, Schelling, and Kant. He has still many followers in Germany. The writings of Böhme were widely read throughout Germany. Johann Arndt (1555–1621), a minister of much enthusiasm, was very much impressed with Böhme's doctrine of "inward light." He wrote a book called "*True Christianity*," which at once acquired celebrity and has since become a standard work among all religious denominations. John Gerhard followed in the footsteps of Arndt. His "*Exegetical Explanation of Particular Passages*" produced a great excitement, for he advocated the doctrine of Inspiration with such vehemence and enthusiasm that the people could not but believe. Another of Böhme's school is John Valentin Andreæ. He wrote a satire¹ on the times which set Germany on fire. The clergy condemned the work as spurious, and branded the author as an enemy of the church, but the denunciations of the clergy did no harm; a reaction set in and opinion changed, for the book had exposed the dry formalism and the sectarian strife of the times. It was a work which denounced the shams which had crept into the Lutheran and Reformed churches; it demanded new life, called boldly for reinvigoration, and this came in the form of Pietism, which had risen from the seed sown by the early Mystics.

II. PIETISM AND ITS MISSION.

Pietism is a word used in church history in the latter half of the seventeenth century, and applied to the belief of a party of German Lutherans who were dissatisfied with the cold formalism of the clergy. They did not separate from the

¹ *The Discovery of the Brotherhood of the Honorable Order of the Holy Cross.*

church, but held their own meetings in private houses. These meetings were called "Collegia Pietatis," from which we have the name Pietist.

The founder of this sect was Philip Jacob Spener, an eminent Lutheran divine, who began these meetings in his own house at Frankfort, about 1670. Spener was born in Elsass, 1635, and died at Berlin, 1705. He was one of the most remarkable men in the Lutheran church. From early childhood he was reared amid pious surroundings, and from youth up he was possessed of a serious and retired disposition. When a mere child he read Arndt's "*True Christianity*," which made such a deep impression on his mind that he even then took a vow to serve the church faithfully and to further Christ's kingdom here on earth,—a vow to which he ever remained faithful. He completed his education at Strasburg, and for three years he attended several of the higher institutions of learning in Germany. He was for a short time a minister in Strasburg. He removed from that city to Frankfort-on-the-Main, where he began his work of reform. Here, he soon gathered around him a large multitude of earnest seekers after truth. The clergy of the church spent all their time in disputes over doctrinal points, and left their flocks to take care of themselves. Spener cared little for doctrine, for he based religion on truth and the Bible. He discarded the high-flown language then in use,—an affectation which had crept in—and used a simple, clear style, which the common people could understand. But he found this was not enough, so he organized weekly meetings at his house, where all were allowed to speak. These meetings were the small beginnings of the great movement which took place in the Lutheran church. In 1675, Spener published his great work, "*Pia Desideria*." In this book he shows what is needed in the church, to make it once more as effective as in the time of Luther. He maintains in this book that "the word of *God* should be spoken, and not learned discourses on other subjects, such as philosophy and science; pious people of all classes should act as ministers if capable; love and piety are neces-

sary for all preachers, in order that they may urge others to see the importance of faith and its fruits." This book was approved by the church, but it was severely criticised by the clergy, whose faults he denounced in strong terms. Spener laid much stress upon the necessity of a new birth. He said that bread and wine did not help a man if there were not a change of heart; that all amusements should be prohibited; that the mode of dress should be for comfort and not for style. He urged the common people to read the Scriptures daily at their homes, and to attend meetings of worship during the week. All philosophy and book-learning he despised, for it came not from the heart, and it could not satisfy the yearning soul who sought for truth. Spener may have been too enthusiastic for his cause, which he felt was right, but such a fearless, brave man was needed to gather together the pious followers of Böhme, Arndt and Andreæ. Dorner, the historian, says that "this awakening was necessary in the development of Protestantism." Another author says that "Pietism went back from the cold faith of the seventeenth century to the living faith of the Reformation." Something had to be done to arouse the church from its lethargy.

As a remedy the following means of improvement were proposed by the Pietists:—

I. That the scholastic theology which reigned in the academies, and was composed of intricate and disputable doctrines and obscure and unusual forms of expression, should be totally abolished.

II. That polemical divinity, which comprehended the controversies subsisting between Christians of different communions, should be less eagerly studied and less frequently treated, though not entirely neglected.

III. That all mixture of philosophy and human science with divine wisdom was to be most carefully avoided; that is, that pagan philosophy and classical learning should be kept distinct from, and by no means should supersede Biblical theology.

IV. That, on the contrary, all students who were intended

for the ministry should be kept accustomed from their youth up, to the perusal and study of the Holy Scriptures, and be taught a plain system of theology drawn from these unerring sources of truth.

V. That the whole course of their education should be so directed as to render them useful in life, by the practical power of their doctrine, and the commanding influence of their example.¹

These articles were just what the church needed, but through jealousy and internal strife they were never adopted into the church creed. This was a great mistake, for although a great many of the Pietists remained in the church, they gave up the work they had begun, at the time of Spener's death. Many joined other denominations, some founded new sects, and still others took up Rationalism as the last resort. If the church had possessed more spirit and less dogmatic indifference, the pious followers of Spener, full of enthusiasm for their cause, would have swelled the numbers of the Lutheran church, and they would have stood firm and fast against the Rationalistic doctrines which took root in German soil about this time; but, as it was, these believers, becoming disgusted with the dogmatic strictness of the church, left it.

After the Pietism of Spener had somewhat died out, the Lutheran church fell back to what it was, when Spener took up the reform movement in 1670. There were still pious believers, but they were put under the ban of the church or exiled from their native land. "Thus these outcasts from the church, driven away from their native land, were now like sheep without a shepherd. But God in His mercy caused a spiritual wind to blow, soothed the troubled souls in their afflictions, and raised up in their midst persons who were inspired."² These persons assembled for worship in private houses, as the Pietists had done. In these meetings many seemed to be inspired, and told many things which were to happen in the future. Thus arose at several places in Ger-

¹ Watson, "*Theological Dictionary*," Art. Protestant Pietism.

² *Inspirations Historie*, I., von Gottlieb Scheuner, pp. 8-9.

many many who prophesied like the prophets of old. These people were called Inspirationists.

The first one who fell into fits of ecstasy and prophesied that God would raise up a new sect, was a lady of noble rank, by the name of Rosamunde Juliane, of Asseburg. From 1679–1686 she became inspired five times. She was of a religious turn of mind, and spent much of her time in prayer. She began to see sights, fell into raptures, and then began to prophesy. This woman became the laughing-stock of the neighborhood; she was persecuted and driven out of town, but still she clung to her religious principles. Dr. Johann W. Petersen, a learned professor of Lüneburg, a worthy follower of Johann Arndt, and a man well versed in theology and grounded in the Lutheran faith, became interested in this pious, simple-hearted woman. He visited her while in prison, and they conversed on religion in general, and especially on the doctrine of Inspiration as she understood it. Petersen became convinced that Inspiration could as well take place now as in the time of the prophets. He defended openly the testimony of this woman, and in return was ridiculed and mocked by the clergy, who looked upon her as a simple-hearted enthusiast. Petersen lost his position as professor, and was driven out of town by the enraged rabble.

From 1693–1700 he travelled, and became subject to Inspiration many times. While under this influence he saw much which was to take place in the church. He saw that a new sect would originate, different from all others. It would go back to the time of the apostles for doctrines, and would follow the Scriptures.¹ Many of these visions he wrote down and had printed for private circulation: Others soon joined Petersen, whose amiable disposition and exemplary life helped to win many friends. In 1700 a poor cooper, by the name of Myer, began to prophesy, saying that “God would raise up a man who should take care of the faithful little flock that wandered throughout Germany without a shepherd.”²

¹ See “*Works*” of Johann W. Petersen.

² See *Inspirations Historie*, I., p. 9.

The first ones who tried to form a new sect of those who believed in Inspiration were three brothers from Halberstadt, in Saxony. Their names were Johann Tobias, Johann Heinrich, and August Friedrich Pott. The latter had studied theology at Halle, and was a warm admirer of the illustrious Francke. From 1708-1712 they travelled much in search of pious believers, and religious Mystics. They finally settled down at Hanau, where a new sect called the "*Wieder-täufer*" (Anabaptists) had sprung up, led by Alexander Mack. Many of Mack's followers joined the Pott brothers, and in Ysenburg a few pious people left the established church and came to Hanau. A woman of high rank, Eva Catherina Wagnerin, from Ronneburg, became so enraptured with the doctrine of Inspiration, which the Pott brothers advocated, that she also joined the little congregation, in which she took an active part as a minister of the gospel.

These were the small beginnings of those mystical doctrines which were formulated and improved by Eberhard Ludwig Gruber and Johann Friedrich Rock, who are looked upon as the real founders of the Society. It is around these two men, their "heroes of faith," that the development and progress of the Community has turned as if on an axis. They were both from Würtemberg. The former was a clergyman in the Lutheran church, but lost his position because he defended the doctrines of Spener, and because he tried to do away with the outward forms of religion, which are always magnified more when the spirit of true religion dies out; and put in place of them the religion of the heart, such as Spener had advocated. For this, Gruber had to withdraw from the church. Rock was a preacher's son, of a peculiar temperament and of a mystical cast of mind. He was a saddler by trade, but had received a good education. He read much about religion, but found no sect whose doctrines could satisfy his yearnings after truth. In Stuttgart he found a small body of serious believers presided over by a Dr. Hedinger. It was at one of Hedinger's meetings that Gruber and Rock met for the first time; an intimate friendship arose between them, which lasted for life.

After Hedinger's death this little flock of believers was scattered. Gruber and Rock removed to Himbach where they could enjoy more religious freedom. Here they lived secluded and alone from 1707-1714, reading and meditating on the mysteries of religion. On the 16th of November, 1714, John T. Pott and Gottfried Neumann, who had heard of Gruber and Rock, came to visit them. The same evening a public meeting was held. It is from this meeting that the Society dates its origin. A little band composed of E. L. Gruber, his son Johann Adam Gruber, J. F. Rock, Johann T. Pott, Johanna Melchior and G. Neumann, were the first ones to join together in Christian fellowship for the organization of a new sect, based not upon any code of external sanctity, but based upon truth and a belief that God could now as of old, inspire chosen prophets who should act as messengers to men. These ministers went about preaching, so that in a short time the Society had many adherents. Gruber and Rock were the most influential in preaching, and around these two men the obscure and the illiterate assembled to hear explained and unfolded the principles of that spiritual kingdom which all sought to find. Patiently and assiduously Rock and Gruber labored to instruct their countrymen in divine things and in the knowledge of virtue. These men wanted to free the ignorant peasants from the heavy burdens imposed by the corrupt clergy, and to lead them to a purer and more exalted communion with God. To accomplish this end they toiled and suffered all sorts of persecution; firm in their belief they unostentatiously went into every nook and corner of Germany, penetrated into Switzerland, and visited many parts of France and Holland. The gentleness of their manners, the purity and simplicity of the doctrines they preached, convinced many, but the hatred of the clergy, who looked with disgust on any change in the form of things, knew no bounds. The preachers were put in prison, they were fined and persecuted, but they were not silenced.

The difference between the Community organized by Gruber and Rock and many of the other Inspiration com-

munities throughout Germany and Holland, was that the former maintained that there was false as well as true Inspiration. Very frequently in the history of the Society we find Inspirationists whom the Society condemned as false. This gift of Inspiration continued in a person for a time, and then departed. Johann Schwanfelder, a member of the Society, was inspired for only three months. The Pott brothers, who made such a glorious beginning in the Society, ceased also to speak by the end of 1714.

In 1715 Ursula Mayerin came from Switzerland to visit the members of the Society. She became convinced and began to preach. As she was a woman of good understanding and of a pious disposition, she exercised a great influence over the people with whom she came in contact.

As the Society increased in membership, persecution began. The two Grubers, father and son, were driven out of Marienborn, where they had conducted meetings. In their struggle to maintain free worship, guided, as they thought, by an inward light, these heroic men walked bravely from city to city, proclaiming the word of God in church, town hall, or on the streets. Kessler and Strahl, two ministers of the Lutheran church in Zweibruck, joined them.

The common people, who could not understand how these ministers could talk by Inspiration, said that they were possessed of the devil. The faculty at Halle, where Pietism had taken the deepest root under the illustrious Francke, now turned a cold side to the Society which tried to perpetuate those doctrines. A few members of the faculty wrote long pamphlets trying to disprove the doctrines of Inspiration, saying that if it really existed it could come from no other source than from the Evil Spirit.¹ These accusations did not retard the growth of the Society, but rather had the opposite effect, since by these means the doctrines were spread so much the more.

Many of these members were perhaps over-zealous in the cause for which they labored, for at times they felt it was

¹ *Inspirations Historie*, I., p. 19.

right to preach before kings,¹ prophesying many things which were to take place. Very often they appeared before the magistrates, saying, the wrath of God would come on those who did not cease persecution; at other times they went into the churches when the clergymen were conducting services. When Inspiration came, these men would stand up and begin to speak, soon drowning the clergyman's voice, and having the entire congregation as listeners. J. A. Gruber prophesied in Gelnhausen, 1715, that the clergyman of that place would die suddenly. The clergyman caused Gruber to be arrested. He lingered in prison for several months, being denied a trial. Finally he was taken out of town by the officers, who told him never to return. A few days after Gruber was taken from jail the clergyman whom Gruber had mentioned did die suddenly.²

In Holland many began to prophesy like the members of the Society of True Inspiration, but those were looked upon as possessed by false inspiration.

In the Society of True Inspiration, a committee was always appointed to examine those who spoke by Inspiration, to find out whether they really were inspired, or if they only believed they were. In the history of the Society there were many who were denied the privilege of prophesying.

In October, 1715, the third love feast was held. These feasts were held, not at any stated time or place, but when it was thought desirable for the strengthening of the members, or when new converts were made, and when their ministers were released from prison. There was generally a week's preparation, when the members were tested by the elders to see if they were prepared. If the members were not in a spiritual mood they could not take part. After this examination, a day was spent in prayer, when they had feet-washing, and finally the love feast. This religious festival is held quarterly now by the Moravians and Methodists, in imitation

¹ The rulers of the petty states of Germany were often called kings.

² See *Inspirations Historie*, I., p. 24.

of the *Agapæ* held by the early Christians, at the time of the communion, when contributions were made for the poor.

Johann Carl Gleim, a minister of the Society, while staying in an inn over night, fell in with a great number of gamblers and drunkards. As he sat in his room quietly engaged in prayer, the power of the spirit arose in him, and he went down and addressed them, saying if "they did not repent God would surely send visitations upon them." In less than a year great floods occurred, in which many of these persons lost their lives.¹

In 1717 Johann Adam Gruber and H. S. Gleim went into a church at Zürich and preached to the people. This bold step so enraged the clergyman, who feared that the members would leave the church in which he labored, and go over to the Inspirationists, that he caused them to be arrested. The following was the sentence:—

"Since J. A. Gruber, from Würtemberg, and H. S. Gleim, from Hessen, have held meetings in this town, of a religious nature, and since they have distributed pamphlets praising their own Society and degrading our church, therefore has this council decided by a majority vote that (1) their pamphlets shall be burned publicly by the executioner; (2) that said persons be put in the pillory; (3) that they be lashed through the principal streets; (4) that hereafter said persons be forbidden to enter this land."²

They were first put in the pillory, where they were exposed to the cutting comments of the mob. They were then driven through the streets, each prisoner receiving sixty-two lashes; the blood from their backs ran down the streets of Zürich, but still the stern clergy and thousands of spectators followed the procession, and cheered in derision whenever the prisoners groaned from the pain inflicted by the lash. Such proceedings sound like those of the Inquisition, but this was done in enlightened Germany and permitted by the Lutheran church. Two years afterwards H. S. Gleim died at Schwarzenau, his

¹ *Inspirations Historie*, I., p. 65.

² *Inspirations Historie*, Vol. 2, p. 123.

death due no doubt to the hard treatment he had experienced in prison.

In 1718 Johann A. Gruber went to America and settled at Germantown, Pennsylvania. He kept up constant communication with the Society, and once returned to see his aged father, but never founded any branch of the Society in America. A descendant of J. A. Gruber was an active member in the Methodist church in the beginning of this century. J. C. Gleim, a brother of the former, and B. D. Mackinet joined Gruber in America. The communication kept up from both sides of the water undoubtedly brought the members in Germany to think about America as a "promised land," though emigration did not take place until 1844, over a century later.

Up to 1720 the work had been mostly done by travelling ministers; they really had no organization, nor did they have any set meetings for worship. In this year an organization was made with Gruber and Rock as presiding elders; meetings were established at Schwarzenau, Himbach, Frankfort, Ronneburg, and Birstein, nearly all of which are in Hessen. It is in this principality that most of the members lived, and to which many came from Switzerland, Bavaria, and Elsass, since there was more religious freedom given in Hessen than in any of the other states in Germany. At that time each little state had its own laws and government.

Rock and Gruber often prophesied about events which would take place. Thus, for example, Rock said in 1718 that Frankfort would be laid in ashes, which actually took place the next year. At Halle, Rock found the Pott brothers living in retirement, still believing in the Society, but they had lost the gift of Inspiration. In 1720 Rock and J. J. Schulthes visited Switzerland, where a large number of pious people joined the Society.

Casper Löw of Nürnberg, a firm believer and a pious, God-fearing man, handed an epistle to the Burgomaster, begging him to be more lenient to the seekers after truth. For this offence Löw and Rock were put in the stocks, to be ridiculed and mocked by the citizens.

As the members were scattered they were unable to attend meetings. A great many moved from distant places to Himbach, where a large congregation was gathered together. Himbach from this time on became the principal headquarters of the Society.

In Tübingen, where the clergy were very immoral, one of these ministers of the Society felt it his duty to walk into one of the principal churches and lay a testimonial on the altar.¹ It was a plea for more true Christianity within the church. This displeased the clergy, who were greatly excited about the matter, and the poor exposor of wrongs, and believer in the purification of religion was arrested.

J. P. Arnoldi, of Frankfort, was imprisoned in 1726, because he had said in a meeting that "God's curse would surely come upon the city on account of the people's sins."²

More and more of the Swiss joined the Society which now had established meetings at Zürich, Bern, Schaffhausen, and Welschen-Schweiz.

In 1728 Johann A. Gruber returned from America to see his aged father before he died. This old man, who had worked hard to collect the little flock of Pietists, was now about to leave them forever. He died, December 11, 1728, at sixty-three years of age. Gruber was born in Stuttgart; he was sent to school at an early age, where he was quick and proficient. From Stuttgart he was sent to Tübingen, in Würtemberg. After graduating he began preaching, in which field he soon became noted outside his parish. He was both an orator and a logical thinker; and the amiability of his disposition and the uprightness of his character no doubt won for him friends and admirers. A firm believer in the doctrine of Spener, and aware of the immoralities of the clergy, Gruber did not shrink from what he called his duty—that was, to denounce the immoralities which had crept into the church,—in the severest terms. He said: "Since the clergy should be examples for the people, they

¹ *Inspirations Historie*, I., p. 131.

² *Inspirations Historie*, I., p. 135.

ought to practice what they preached." He became acquainted with Dr. Hedinger, an eminent divine, famous throughout Württemberg for his eloquence in defending true Christianity and maintaining that "faith was not enough in man—there must be associated with faith, works." Hedinger and Gruber worked together until the former's death, in 1707. Gruber also became acquainted with Wilhelm Petersen, formerly mentioned, and Dr. Carl, a man of learning and much piety. These men had a great influence over Gruber, who was a seeker after truth. Gruber was of a nervous, excitable temperament. At times he felt that he could prophesy, but he attributed this feeling to his peculiar temperament. In the meantime he wrote much against Inspiration, a wave of which was at this time sweeping over Germany. Finally J. F. Rock, Gruber's friend, began also to have the same peculiar feelings that Gruber had felt for several years. Johann Adam Gruber, the son, began to show signs of inward emotions. In 1714, when the Pott brothers came to visit him, Gruber changed his mind and became convinced that Inspiration was true, that the feelings which had been working in his mind during those years, and which he had never given time to mature, were truly from God. As formerly he had written zealously against Inspiration, he now with equal fervor defended it in a large book on false and true Inspiration, published in 1715. In the same year he published his twenty-one rules which the Society adopted as its creed.¹ Gruber is also the author of many hymns which are full of love for men.

In the death of Gruber the Society lost its greatest leader, a loss which was never made good. It was Gruber who first collected the little body of believers, who formulated the doctrines of their creed, and who spread those doctrines beyond the boundaries of Germany.

J. F. Kessler was appointed elder, in place of Gruber, at Schwarzenau. Kessler had been a minister in the Reformed church, and joined the Society of True Inspiration some years earlier.

¹ For the twenty-one rules see "*Life of Gruber.*"

In 1730, Count Nicholas L. von Zinsendorf, of the Herrnhüt Society, in Saxony, visited the society at Schwarzenau. The Herrnhüt Society was a remnant of the Bohemian Brothers, who had remained secluded in Moravia. In 1722 a few of these brethren escaped to Saxony and settled on the lands of Count Zinsendorf, where they built a castle called Herrnhüt (The Keep of God). Count Zinsendorf became their leader, and as he was well educated and of noble birth, he exercised a great influence on the later history of the Society, which now exists around the world.

It is distinguished for its zeal in the mission field. There are at present 15,000 members in Europe, and 7000 in the United States. The Moravians, or, as they are sometimes called, United Brethren, live in distinct communities, unite their interests very closely, but do not hold a community of goods. They hold meetings on Sunday, when sermons are delivered and the church creed is read. Music takes a prominent part in their worship.¹ They were firm believers in the doctrine of Spener, and hold much in common with the community of True Inspiration.

The visit of Zinsendorf to Schwarzenau brought about a friendly intercourse between the two societies. Both denominations believed they were moved by the same spirit; both sought to serve God in a more rigorous manner than other denominations. On leaving, Zinsendorf spoke as follows: "We see plainly that God's grace works powerfully among you, as among us. With us the work takes place in the church, with you out of the church. Each one works where God placed him. No one of us shall hinder you in your work, but we give you our hand as a mark of friendship, that we may work in peace side by side for the cause of God."²

Some discussion arose between the two societies concerning Inspiration, but perfect harmony always existed. Some of

¹ For information concerning this society, see "*Works of Count Zinsendorf*," also "*Moravian Brothers*," and others.

² *Inspirations Historie*, I., p. 161.

the Society of True Inspiration joined the Moravians, while a nephew of Zinsendorf and several Moravians joined the Society. Both societies worked for, and aimed at, one end; viz., how to make people purer and better. Amid all the vicissitudes of life members of both of these societies have shown an undaunted courage, an ardent zeal, and a sincere love for their fellowmen.

In 1733, a person joined the Society of True Inspiration who took an active part in spreading the doctrines that Gruber had defended so eloquently. This was Jonas Wickmark, a Swede, who, after graduating from the university of his native land, had gone to Jena, where he took a course in law, in order to fully equip himself for his chosen profession, which he intended to practice on his return home. While at Jena, Wickmark had studied and thought much concerning Pietism, and before leaving Germany he wanted to see the Society which had adopted so many of Spener's doctrines. On this visit he felt so comforted with the simple faith which these people practiced that he gave up his journey home, where office and honors awaited him, for a life among these pious people. He was well versed in the languages and wrote shorthand, which he used in taking down sermons, which were preserved and printed for distribution. He was never Inspired, but often spoke in their meetings, and travelled much in Holland, Elsass and Switzerland, in company with J. F. Rock. Wickmark wrote much in defense of the Society, and many beautiful hymns come from his pen. He looked after the little flock not only in spiritual, but in temporal affairs as well. He died in 1786, at the advanced age of 87, having worked faithfully in the Society for fifty-three years; and in all that time he never visited his native land.

Another prominent man in the Society was Johann Georg Metz, from Elsass, who joined the Society in 1716, after he was exiled. Metz was the great-grandfather of Christian Metz, who died in 1867, the most noted worker on this side of the Atlantic.

Frau von Stein, a lady of noble birth, well educated, reared in

wealth and luxury, became tired of the hollowness of fashionable society, in which she could find nothing that satisfied her longings for truth. She retired from the ball room to her closet, where she spent much of her time in prayer and in reading religious books. Having heard much about the Society, and wishing to know more, she was visited by several of the members. She was so impressed with the simplicity of their religion and the plainness of their manners, that she became fully convinced of the truth of their doctrines, and joined the Society, in which she took an active part.

The elders, and many of those who spoke through Inspiration, travelled much, continually organizing new meetings and preaching the gospel wherever they went. They put on trial those who claimed that they spoke through Inspiration, tested all the members, and openly reprimanded them. Preachers in the Established Church and the magistrates were also warned that if they did not turn from their evil ways, they would surely be punished by a just God. For such bold utterances they were lashed at the whipping-post, scorned by the people, and often put in prison, where they lingered for months without trial. Such severe treatment only strengthened their belief, made them more enthusiastic in their cause, and more willing to suffer for the sake of conscience.

Paul G. Nagel, the son of an attorney in Würtemberg, a graduate of the University of Jena, joined the Society in 1740. He was an attorney by profession, and a man of much learning, who became useful to the Society in many ways. At Rock's death, in 1749, Nagel became elder in his place, an office which he filled to the satisfaction of all.

Johann F. Rock died in 1749, aged seventy years. Rock was an able man, in fact one of the pillars of the Society. Having a strong constitution, he travelled much as a minister, and was very often imprisoned for his bold utterances of truth. He suffered untold hardships, sleeping on a little straw or on the bare, stone floor in damp jails, without fire and without much food. He spent the last thirty-five years of his life, constantly travelling either alone or in company with

his faithful companion, Jonas Wickmark, who took Rock's sermons down in shorthand, and had many of them printed and distributed after Rock's death. Rock was of a lively temperament, earnest and enthusiastic for social reform, which had reached a low ebb during the reigns of Frederick William I., and Frederick II. As a minister, Rock was fluent, persuasive, and eloquent. Endowed with much sympathy for his fellowmen, he worked on their feelings and reached their hearts. He cared little for priest or magistrate, if he knew they were immoral, and did not properly fill the offices for which they were chosen. He was accustomed to speak in all places,—on the streets, in the fields, in the inns, and in the churches,—wherever he could find a place. People turned out to hear him in all places; nowhere was he without hearers, for all wanted to see the man who cared to flatter none, and to serve none but his God. Gruber may have been a deeper thinker, but Rock was a more fluent speaker. Both were enthusiastic in the cause they represented. The former, formulated the doctrines with his pen, the latter spread those doctrines in person throughout all Germany, Holland and Switzerland. Gruber was a student of a retired disposition, while Rock had been a man of the world, and loved to mingle with men; both were necessary to the Society, for the one laid down the principles of their creed, while the other expounded and explained those principles to the people. Both maintained that man was not saved by faith alone, but that good works were necessary. They laid great stress on virtue. Honesty, uprightness, morality, were strictly enforced on members of the Society. These men emphasized the fact that there must be ethics in government, in politics, in religions,—a problem that the nineteenth century has tried to solve. Social as well as religious reform these men sought to accomplish, and this is the reason such an outcry arose from the mass of the people, who did not want to be disturbed in the practice of their old customs. Although these persons did not convert all Germany, they did arouse public sentiment, both in church and in state, so that the reform movement they began has since become a reality.

Rock was the son of a preacher, of a wild disposition and a lover of games. He wandered about after receiving his education, without any settled profession. He was a saddler by trade. He lived in Berlin, in Strasburg, and at Halle, at which places he spent much of his time in reading. While perusing the pages of a book one disagreeable Sunday afternoon,¹ disgusted with life and the hollowness of the society in which he moved, he took a solemn vow to change his mode of life, a vow which never was broken, for he remained faithful to the end. He now tried to find a sect which he could join. At one time he contemplated joining the Socinians. In this manner he passed much time in reading and meditation. After six years wandering Rock returned to his mother, who was now a widow and lived at Stuttgart. His mother in the meantime had joined a body of pious people, who met in private houses for silent worship. Rock, who had meditated much on religion, joined this little company. The members increased in number, until the clergy became frightened, for the believers went to the silent meetings instead of coming to church to listen to soulless sermons, to philosophic discussions which had puzzled Plato and Aristotle. The clergy, influential among the princes and the magistrates, caused a law to be passed, 1707, that all who did not attend church should be compelled to leave the city.² Rather than disobey the dictates of conscience, Rock, his mother, and younger brother, with many others, left their comfortable homes, their friends and their all, to become exiles and outcasts, not knowing where to turn their course, fearing to be driven still further in their flight in search of freedom for religious belief. This, in the land where Luther and Melancthon had accomplished so much for the freedom of thought! After wandering around for some time in search of a new home, they finally settled down in Ysenburg, a district of Hessen. Here they found E. L. Gruber, who also had fled from Stuttgart. In the fall of 1714, the Pott brothers before

¹ See "*Autobiography of J. F. Rock.*"

² See "*Autobiography of J. F. Rock.*"

mentioned, and Johanna M. Melchior held a meeting at Gruber's house. Rock was invited, and as he entered the house Johanna M. Melchior was in Inspiration and spoke of unbelief. When she ceased speaking, the younger Pott also fell into a sort of trance, and began to speak in the same strain. Rock felt that the words went to his heart. He thought it was the beginning of a new religion,—a religion which he formed and remodelled.

Rock soon began to experience similar feelings, and became inspired in meeting. One day while at work in the garden, he felt that he must leave his work and go to two pious old people, and tell them to prepare for death, for one of them would soon die. He went to see them, delivered his message, but could not understand it, for they were both in perfect health. In less than a week one of them died.¹

At other times Rock had the feeling that he must go before kings, magistrates and ministers, to tell them to be more lenient in their laws and more godly in their lives, or else God would punish them.² In the night he could not sleep, but wandered around in the fields, shedding tears over the evil life he had led, praying for forgiveness for his sins.

After a long season of repentance and prayer, Rock started out to preach. In Tübingen he attended church, and, when exercises were over, walked up to the altar and begged to be permitted to deliver a sermon on penitence. This act so enraged the clergyman that he marched Rock down to the city hall, had him arrested, and burned the papers found on his person. In his autobiography are found many interesting stories gathered from the travels which he made up to the time of his death. These stories give us a good idea of the age in which he lived, and of the character of the people. Rock was popular with the people and was highly respected. He knew how to touch the right chord in his hearers, and he could always impress his own personality on the congregation. His character was above reproach, and his zeal for the cause

¹ See his "*Autobiography*."

² See his "*Autobiography*."

of true religion was as fervent as had been the yearnings of his own soul in search of truth.

From the death of Rock to the revival in 1817, the Society was declining. The reason for this is doubtless due to the fact that the great work which Gruber and Rock had taken up was left to men who did not possess the power, or the personality that the founders were endowed with. Perhaps the incessant wars of Frederick the Great had also something to do with the prosperity of the Society, for in a war for existence, like the "Seven Years' War," where the integrity of the country was at stake, the thoughts, the actions, the very existence of the people depend on victory. Another reason for the decline of the Society was that religious thought had nearly disappeared, and Rationalism held complete sway over the mass of people, its influence increased by the king's indifference to religion, and Voltaire's stay in Germany. The universities adopted this fashionable mode of thinking. The students were in ecstasy over the writings of Lessing, who, from 1750 to the time of his death, 1781, exercised a great influence not only on literature, but on religious thought,—an influence tending toward Rationalism. These causes affected religious thought as a whole. The Lutheran, the Reformed, the Catholic churches, all suffered from this wave of Rationalism. It was the foreboding of the French Revolution. The Society of True Inspiration suffered with the rest, and, with the loss of its leaders, it seemed at one time that it was about to be hurled into the maelstrom created by the waves which were forming and threatening from France; but it lived on and survived the Revolution, when new life was breathed into it by the revival movement in the beginning of this century.

From the organization of the Society, the members had objected to oaths and wars. As they felt it to be a duty of conscience they objected to take an oath, but declared themselves willing to make an affirmation equally strong. For this, they were accused of disloyalty to the state, and called traitors to religion, and haters of truth. They were thrown into prison,

tortured, and publicly whipped, but they maintained the same stoical perseverance in the cause of truth that the early Christians had shown under the Roman Empire. The custom of the oath which these people so firmly opposed, and thought to be inconsistent with the Scripture teachings, has now in a great measure been superseded by affirmation.

In the continuous wars of Frederick the Great, all Prussia was under arms. As the members refused to go to war, they were persecuted in all ways imaginable. Some lingered in prison, others were compelled to bear arms, and still others either died from ill treatment, or were actually put to death. In spite of such cruel treatment, they maintained their ground, willing to meet death rather than sully themselves with what they thought to be an atrocious sin, viz: The killing of a fellow man.

Those living in the southern part of Germany lost nearly all of their personal property, which was carried away by the marauders. The magistrates seemed to think that as these people were unwilling to go to war, they should at least pay the penalty by the loss of their goods. Many were pressed into the service, but they mildly and temperately, yet firmly, refused to serve. They said, in the language of the Bible, "We ought to serve God rather than men."

In the wars of Frederick the Great, the Inspirationists wrote much against the evils of wars. The position which they took may be summed up as follows:

- I. The teachings of Christ forbid war.
- II. The precepts and the practice of the apostles agree with the teachings of Christ.
- III. The early Christians were firm in their belief in the unjustness of war, and many suffered death in affirmation of this belief.
- IV. War is not a necessary evil; for if the people would not fight, ambitious rulers would either have to fight themselves, or dwell in peace and harmony.
- V. The general character of Christianity is wholly inconsistent with war, and its general duties are contrary to it.

A SKETCH OF A FEW OF THE MEMBERS NOT PREVIOUSLY
MENTIONED, WHO TOOK AN ACTIVE PART IN THE
SOCIETY IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

One of the pillars of the church, not yet mentioned in this paper, was Johann Philip Kämpf, a man who suffered great hardships at the hands of relatives and friends, because he cast in his lot with the Inspirationists.

Kämpf was born in 1688, in Sultzern, Gregorianthal, and died at Homburg, 1753. His parents were pious people in good circumstances. His father was mayor of Sultzern, also senator from Münster. He was a man well-educated, a strict Lutheran, honest and God-fearing, and was admired by all with whom he came in contact. The son loved him almost to veneration, and speaks of him with the most tender affection:—"My honest father, of whom I am not worthy to be called his son!"

The father did not wish his son to apply himself to learning, but preferred he should become a farmer, for he thought that life to be the most independent and the most laudable.

At Münster, lived an old and learned minister by the name of Faber, an intimate friend of Mayor Kämpf. These two men had been elected by the school board to visit the city schools, in order to conduct some preliminary examinations. After an hour's tedious work, young Kämpf was called up before the old preacher; the boy answered so fluently, without displaying the least embarrassment, that the preacher was struck with amazement. He told the father that such a boy ought certainly to become a clergyman. The father replied by asking how it was that "the clergy and the educated are further away from God than the illiterate, and it takes more persuasion to bring such persons back to God than others." The preacher nodded his head and said this was an eternal truth which he could not explain, but he still maintained that the boy must acquire a thorough education. He went on to prove this by quoting Scripture (Daniel XII, 3). This quotation must have had the desired effect, for the boy was sent

to the University in Strasburg, where he soon distinguished himself for his quick perception and his easy mastery of the curriculum. Outside of his school hours, he pored over the classic authors, communed whole afternoons with the old philosophers, and spent whole nights reading and meditating upon the fathers of the church.

The boy had been brought up a Lutheran, but suddenly he changed his views. A preacher in Strasburg always ended his sermons by condemning the Pietists. This man became suddenly sick and finally died, praying God for mercy for having persecuted the Pietists. One of the students who saw this death-bed scene ran out into the University grounds, where the students were lounging, and told them what the preacher had said before he expired. This story went direct to Kämpf's heart.

As before he had pored over the classics, he now with equal enthusiasm pored over the works of Spener, Kempis, Arndt, and Böhme. He wanted to get at the root of these pietistic doctrines which the preacher had condemned. For a number of years these authors were the only companions of his solitude. This minute investigation satisfied him as to the truths of the doctrine, and the result was a book which he published, called "*Die Unchristlichen Gebräuche von Christkindlein unter den Leuten*," a book setting forth true Christianity in a clear form, and showing the advantages to true religion which would ensue if Spener's doctrines were taken into the church. Comment and criticism were heaped upon Kämpf, for advocating such views, but the author, with true Saxon courage, would not retreat a step from the position he had chosen.

He maintained his ground so well in the controversy which ensued, that he was elected to the chair of philosophy in his alma mater. Kämpf accepted the appointment, and when he took the chair gave a disputation on true philosophy; this thesis made him more friends. Further investigation of this sublime subject opened his eyes to the falseness of learning when it is used to reason out things which God only

knows. He became disgusted with philosophy as it was taught in the schools, where it took the place of religious thought. There, belief in things divine was set aside, and Rationalism had taken its place. It was at the heart of Rationalism that Kämpf directed his stored-up energies, yet without any marked success, for the plausible Rationalistic creed had taken such a firm hold of the schools that all the energies of one man could not move the barriers which were becoming stronger and stronger. Kämpf believed with Aristotle that "whether you will not philosophize, or you can not philosophize, you must philosophize." But Kämpf maintains "that since there is a limit to all things, there is also a limit reached in philosophy beyond which we have no right to search, but must take for granted." He refused to speculate on the region of God, the essence of the soul, and the origin of the world. "When man begins to form hypotheses on such sublime subjects, man tries to become equal to God." This seemed to him to be a sin.

He finally gave up the chair of philosophy in Strasburg, and accepted an invitation to become court preacher at Bühl, in Elsass. The fame of the "preacher philosopher" soon extended over all Elsass, and people came from all parts of the district to hear and to see the man who had stirred up the German philosophers. His sermons were free from the affectations of the age, they were delivered with all the boldness which characterized the man, and king as well as peasant received his full share of warning.

In 1716 J. A. Gruber and H. S. Gleim, who were engaged in revival work, visited Bühl. One evening Kämpf was invited to dine with a friend, at whose house these men made their home. After dinner was over and they were all seated in a large drawing-room engaged in conversation, Gruber suddenly fell into Inspiration. His words so affected Kämpf that he soon after joined the Society. Kämpf had tasted all there was to be had in life; he had acquired learning from all sources, ranging from the expansive field of philosophy down to the small store of folk-lore found among the peasants; but all this

learning did not satisfy, nor did it console him. True, he had preached for years and had aroused the people by his argumentative discourses, but still these scholarly sermons had not originated from conviction of heart, but were simply the product of his learning. They were sermons delivered without conviction, without the soul and the spiritual individuality of the man. The simple, plain, unostentatious sermon of Gruber possessed those elements so essential in religion; it came from pure conviction, and was devoid of affectation; it came from the soul, and lodged in the souls of his hearers.

From this time Kämpf became a changed man. He refused money for his preaching, though he continued to hold his place at court. A lady of high rank, related to the court, was visiting in Bühl and wanted to partake of the communion, but Kämpf refused to admit her to the communion table until she reformed her mode of life, which was of a questionable character. Such a refusal would have been applauded and admired if the person in question had been a peasant, but as she was one of the nobility, the act was looked upon as an insult. The minister was denounced as a religious fanatic, and finally dismissed from the service which he had gratuitously rendered.

Kämpf now took a course in medicine, and settled down in Bergzabern for the practice of his profession. He more and more felt the need of an open confession of faith, and in 1718 joined the Inspirationists. In the same year he received a call to become physician to the Swedish ambassador Baron von Stralenheim, who lived at Zweibrücken, Bavaria; this offer he accepted. In a short time he became noted in the medical profession, was made director of the royal hospital and physician to Duke Gustaf, the friend of the fugitive Stanislaus, king of Poland.

Kämpf always associated with men of the court, men who perhaps despised his religion, but who admired his character, his great abilities, and his piety. Although he was absorbed in his profession, he still found time to make extended visits as a minister of the gospel. Because he worked as a minister

instead of devoting his time to his chosen profession, he was exiled and came to Homburg, at which place he started a new meeting, which soon became prosperous. In 1739 the Crown Prince of Hessen was in Homburg, on his way to Russia. He heard of Kämpf, and soon persuaded him to become his physician. In Russia Kämpf also spread the doctrines of the Society, especially in St. Petersburg, where he remained for several years.

After his return from Russia he went again to Homburg, where he died in 1753. Kämpf wrote much on philosophy and religion, besides a long treatise on Inspiration.

William Ludwig Kämpf, son of the former, was also a physician of some note. In the affairs of the Society he took an active part. He died at Neuwied, 1779, at the age of 46.

Another of the pillars of the Society was Johann Casper Löw, born at Mühlhausen, Bavaria, 1692. He was descended from a godly stock of people, followers of John Huss, who had been compelled to flee from Austria on account of their religion. The family was in poor circumstances. The father was a linen weaver who toiled early and late in order to earn enough for the support of a large family. Johann was the youngest of thirteen children. When he was old enough to earn his own bread, he gathered together his little possessions and bade his parents farewell, as the other brothers had previously done. He received the blessings of the aged couple, who were greatly moved to see their last child leave,—their only solace in their declining years. But the son thought that he could no longer be a burden to them. With tears rolling down his cheeks he turned away from the scenes of his childhood to battle with the world, with the actual realities of life. He travelled on foot, carrying under his arm a little bundle containing all his earthly possessions. He was about to return in despair, for he could find no work, when he found employment as a cook with a royal family at Büdingen. He was an honest, faithful boy, and was soon esteemed by all who knew him. He remained in the service of this family many years, at last becoming chief cook. As his early education had been

neglected, he now improved his opportunities so that he became well-versed in the literature and common branches necessary in his day for an ordinary scholar.

In 1714 he attended an Inspiration meeting, out of curiosity. He was greatly affected by it, for this seemed to be the religion of his parents and his grandparents, appearing in a new garb. This fact led him to investigate their doctrines, and he proved them to fully correspond to his own ideas of what religion ought to be. For several years he felt dejected, for he was certain that he lacked the power to withstand the ridicule of his associates if he should join the Society, and in not joining he felt he was sinning against God. In 1717 he attended an Inspiration meeting conducted by Ursula Mayerin, at Ronneburg. She seemed to realize what had been weighing on Löw's mind for years. She analyzed his feelings with great exactness, and then applied the remedy. Löw now became fully convinced, and joined the Society, having in the meantime lost his place in Büdingen on account of this conversion to the doctrines of the Society. In 1728, he became inspired for the first time, and from now to the time of his death, which occurred at Büdingen, 1775, he travelled much as a minister. He was the last one to depart of that little group which worked so gloriously in the beginning of the century. Löw has left but little in writing, but he left instead the character of a noble, upright man, who could say with Pericles, "I meet my doom with the consolation that I have injured no man." Löw's work was among the poor and depraved, where he labored assiduously during his long life of usefulness. He settled the petty disputes which often arose between members in the Society; he was always ready to lend a helping hand to the needy, and encouraged all in that godliness and morality which were reflected in his unsullied character.

A few others might be mentioned in connection with the founders. The descendants of these are still in the Society, where they work with the fervor and enthusiasm which were so characteristic of the older men. There occur the names of

M. Trautmann, a Swiss; Gottlieb C. Rall, who died in 1754; and Abraham Noè, from Anweiler, born 1764, died 1805. Gottfried Neuman was a theological student, having graduated from Leipsic and Halle. When he was about to enter upon his career as a minister in the Established Church, such feelings of responsibility came over him that he resigned his trust to another and withdrew from society and the church. After living in retirement for some time he joined the Inspirationists, where he worked continually, both as a writer and as a minister.

Johann Nicolaus Duill was also a minister in the Established Church from Eckershausen, Ysenburg, Hessen, who joined the little flock of pious believers in the beginning of the century. He did not travel as much as the others, due perhaps to a delicate constitution, but he worked faithfully among the members at home, while younger and stronger men went out into the world, "proclaiming the glad tidings of a new Jerusalem."

Blasius Daniel Mackinet, a relative of one previously mentioned, was an enthusiastic worker both at home and abroad. Of a lively disposition, and a jovial companion, he knew when to be serious and when not to be; bold in utterance, he was fearless and daring when he felt that it was right so to be.

George Melber was a well-to-do merchant in Heilbrom, Hessen, who, although not a preacher, was an organizer in temporal affairs. He was always willing to lend a helping hand to the needy, and gave advice and consolation to those in tribulation.

Anna Maria Schurr, a woman of much ability, was converted in 1726. She soon became a valuable minister, laboring with the other women formerly mentioned. She died in 1760, at the age of 75, her abilities and good health preserved to the last.

Jacob Hoffmann, of Basel, became converted while Rock was making a religious visit in that part of Switzerland. Hoffmann died in 1763.

Simon Brangier was born at Niort, Poitou, in France, 1712,

of Protestant parents who had suffered much from religious persecution, but had not forsaken the place of their birth. Simon also loved the place where he was born, and where his relatives had been laid to rest. Finally the decree came that all the pious believers of Poitou who were not willing to change their creed, should be exiled from the district. A few submitted to the conditions of the decree rather than be driven away, but the majority, among whom was Brangier, gathered together their few earthly possessions and with sad hearts left everything that was dear to them behind, in order to find somewhere a new home where they could worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience.

Brangier, with a few others, finally settled down in Zweibrücken, Hessen. Here they found the Society of True Inspiration well represented. They inquired into the doctrines of the Society and found so much similarity with their own views that they joined and became influential members. Brangier travelled much in the capacity of minister and organizer. He followed Kämpf to St. Petersburg, where they organized a little meeting. But it seems that among the Russians they were not as successful as among their own people.

THE REVIVAL OF 1817.

After the death of Rock, in 1749, Inspiration ceased. The Society still had many eminent divines enlisted in its ranks, but they did not possess this remarkable gift.

Flourishing meetings were kept up in Ysenburg, Wittgenstein, Neuwied, Homburg, Switzerland, Elsass, and Würtemberg. The older men were passing away and the younger ones who took their places, although they may have had the ability, lacked the enthusiastic spirit of the older ones. They began more and more to lead a quiet life. They grew rich and fell back among the worldly. It had been prophesied that new men should arise to carry on the work taken up by Gruber and Rock, but years passed without any signs of the fulfillment of the prophecy.

The brilliant career of Frederick the Great, under whose reign these people had drunk the cup of bitterness to the dregs, came to an end. Frederick had labored unceasingly to bring about a union between the Lutheran and the Reformed churches, but his plans miscarried, owing to the influence of political events.

At the time of the Revolution in France the Society, though groaning under oppression, did not expect from its outcome a new regime, able to cure all diseases of the body politic. During this struggle, which did not cease until Wellington silenced the vanquished armies at Waterloo, the members were obliged to suffer all the calamities which only war can bring. The French and German armies marched and counter-marched over the places of their habitation, making every spot a desert, taking even the men who were working in the fields and pressing them into service. It seemed that the Society would soon cease to exist, for the older men died and the younger ones lost courage.

The dawn finally came: the revival came, unnoticed and unheralded. It brought new blood and new life into the Society, and from this time its future was to a certain extent assured.

The principal persons in this revival movement were M. Kraussert, Barbara Heinemann, Christian Metz, Abraham Noé, Johannes Heinemann, Peter Mook, Martin Bender, Wilhelm Nordmann, J. G. Ziriasi, Frederick Müller, from Edenkoben, Philip and Wilhelm Mörschell, from Ronneburg, and Jacob Mörschell, of Neuwied, Philip Beck, from Pfalz, Peter Winzenried, Peter Hammerschneitt, Philip Sommer, and Gottlieb Ackermann.

The first who began to prophesy, after this gift had ceased for over half a century, was Michael Kraussert, of Strasburg. His gift was recognized and he began to travel and preach, again arousing the old enthusiasm. However, in a few years he fell back, and finally lost his power of prophecy.

The most remarkable person, perhaps, who was ever connected with the Society was Barbara Heinemann, a poor,

ignorant peasant girl from Leuterville, Lower Elsass, where she was born in 1795. She was one of the first inspired in the revival, one who had experienced the oppression which the government practiced more and more towards the members of the Society during their last years in Germany, and she followed the little flock to America in search of freedom and a home. She experienced all the trials to which they were exposed in the first settlement, near Buffalo, New York, and she was one of the first to come to Iowa, where she again took up her work, a work which did not cease until 1883, when she was laid to rest, without any outward show but with much inward feeling, in the Amana cemetery, at the advanced age of eighty-eight.

Her parents were pious people. They were in such poor circumstances that Barbara never attended school a day in her life, but at the early age of eight was sent to a neighboring factory, where she earned a little pittance at spinning wool. In 1813, a financial crisis occurred, caused by Napoleon's endless wars. After the battle of Leipsic the entire country suffered from panic. The factory in which Barbara had worked for ten years was closed and she was compelled to go out as a servant.

While she worked in the factory she had been of a lively disposition; now a peculiar state of mind bordering on melancholy suddenly clouded her lively temperament. She gave up her work and returned home, in hope of improvement. She frequently attended church, for, if she engaged constantly in prayer, she thought this gloom might pass away. Once as she partook of the sacrament, the priest said, "Who is unworthy and drinks, he drinks judgment unto himself." This made a deep impression upon her mind, and she solemnly promised so to guide her life as to be acceptable to God.

She conversed with the priest and all the godly mothers of the neighborhood regarding the state of her mind, but no one could explain it satisfactorily, nor relieve her melancholy. One woman said she acted like the Pietists, of which people Barbara had never heard. She loved solitude and spent much

of her time wandering about in the fields communing with God and nature. One night she had a dream telling her how her conversion was to take place. "I sat in a room at dusk," she says in her *Memoirs*, "contemplating the mercy of God; I saw my youthful companions without, joyful and happy, and anxious to have me join them; but I sat unmoved, not knowing whether to go or not, when I heard a loud voice which penetrated marrow and bone, bidding me remain. I began to feel easier, and perceived that God had heard my prayers." Feeling uncomfortable on account of this dream, she proceeded to Sulz, where a few Pietists were said to live.

She was kindly received by these people, who did all in their power to console and comfort her. She told her dream, which they believed would come true if she would only listen to God's voice when it was heard.

She remained with these people for several months, slowly improving in mind, when M. Kraussert came to the neighborhood on a religious visitation. Barbara was glad to find some one who took an interest in her depression of mind, some one who could explain to her all the trials she had passed through in the last few years. He thought that she would become inspired and speak in meetings. To become better acquainted with the Inspirationists and their doctrines, she accompanied M. Kraussert to Bergzabern, Bavaria. On Christmas day, 1818, at the age of 23, she became inspired for the first time, in one of their meetings. Although she knew nothing from books, she spoke in the language of the schools, for it was fluent, clear and free from error. Kraussert became subject to Inspiration and affirmed all she had said, feeling, as he did, that it came from God.

She joined the Society and went about doing religious work, when she was arrested, along with M. Kraussert and Christian Metz. All were accused of heresy by the city magistrate. They remained in prison only a short time, as nothing could be proved against them.

She became inspired in the meetings, in the fields, while at work, at home or on journeys. For this reason persons

always accompanied her, to take down what she said while under this influence. These revelations are still read by the members of the Society for edification and consolation, and after a lapse of nearly a century they have lost none of their flavor.

This state of mind caused jerkings and twitchings of the body for a short time before she began to speak, so that she was conscious of what was coming on. She could prophesy with great exactness what was likely to take place. When she concentrated her mind upon those things which she wished to know, it caused a nervous exhaustion, from which she did not easily recover.

The persecutions Barbara Heinemann had to suffer at the hands of the magistrates were not all the trials she had to pass through. Members of the Society who were rich and influential were not pleased to have the poor, ignorant peasant girl looked upon as a prophetess and as a minister of the gospel. All sorts of accusations were brought against her. She patiently submitted to these wrongs, and she was for a short period expelled from the Society. The accusations, which were false, were withdrawn; the few who had conspired against her were expelled, and she was reinstated, to the comfort of the Society and her own consolation.

The Society was reorganized. Besides the twenty-one articles of E. L. Gruber, the twenty-four articles of Johann Adam Gruber were adopted as the basis of their faith. The members became more and more enthusiastic in the work, the Society increased in numbers, and everything pointed to a brilliant future.

In 1823 Barbara Heinemann was married to George Landmann. Her gift of Inspiration had ceased, and did not return until 1849; from that time she continued to be inspired until the time of her death.

This woman was the only one in the Society who possessed the gift of Inspiration, after the death of Christian Metz, in 1867, and since her death no one has so far been able to take her place. She was a woman who possessed many noble

qualities; meek and patient in suffering, she knew how to comfort those in trouble; how to touch a tender spot in the hearts of those who were wayward and lukewarm in matters of religion; always keeping her presence of mind, she could censure without offence, and exhort without ranting; of an amiable disposition, she was respected and venerated by all who knew her.

All the education she received she acquired herself, without the aid of a teacher, and when she learned how to read and write her joy was great, for she felt an inward delight to be able to commune with God through the Holy Scriptures. Although she knew nothing of the philosophies of the schools, she could analyze the "common sense" philosophy of the heart. What she uttered during those periods when she was inspired, seems the product of deep thought, coming from the serene depths of a soul that understood the highest and noblest motives in man.

Christian Metz, a son of Jacob Metz, of Neuwied, previously mentioned, also became inspired about 1820. He was a man of much executive ability, and the temporal affairs of the Society were nearly all conducted by him, up to the time of his death in 1867.

The name Metz is of frequent occurrence in the history of the organization, from the time of its foundation. Originally from Elsass, whence Johann George Metz was driven on account of his religious views, in 1716,—it is in Hessen that the family for over a century toiled and suffered for the principles which the founder held dearer than home or native land.

Christian Metz was not only an organizer; he was a preacher and writer as well. He made five visits to Switzerland; visited Elsass, Lorraine, Saxony, and Würtemberg many times; in all these places he won converts to his cause. In 1824 Metz was prominent in winning over many Herrnhüters who had estranged themselves from that body.

In Würtemberg there lived a number of pious people called Michelians, named after the founder, Michel Hahn, a pious mystical preacher, who had exercised much influence by his

reformatory measures. After his death the believers were scattered, not knowing what denomination to join, and too weak to continue the work their founder had begun. When Christian Metz happened to pass through that country on a religious visitation a few of them joined the Society. They did not long enjoy the peace and comfort they found within its protection, for the French government oppressed and persecuted all dissenters in Elsass and Strasburg, and they were driven out of France and came as fugitives to Germany, where they found a home with their fellow believers in Hessen.

In 1833 Switzerland took steps toward Conservatism, caused by a relapse of the revolutionary spirit of 1830. Oaths had to be taken in order to swear fealty to the government, and every able-bodied man at a certain age had to learn the art of war. Many families left their native land and came to Hessen. Two years later several more came; the most prominent of the new comers were Scheuner, Trautmann, Moser, Benedict and Hieronimus Gasser, and Aeshlimann.

From Basel came Burgy, Graf, Ladmann, Salathe, and Weckerling. Gottlieb Ackermann came from Lauenheim, in Saxony. His family belonged to the Gichtelians, followers of a revivalist by the name of Gichtel.

With all these exiles thrown upon the Society, without any means and for the most part without work, the members were in great perplexity. Christian Metz, far-sighted and thoughtful, came to the conclusion that the best method would be for the Society to lease some large estate, where the exiles could be put to work and make enough to supply their wants, the Society paying the rent.

The Marienborn castle, between Bergheim and Ronneburg, which formerly had belonged to the Herrnhüters, was leased by the Society. But this was not enough, for members kept coming from Würtemberg, from Elsass, and from Switzerland; besides it was not well to have the different nationalities together, as their dialects and customs were different. By 1834 three more castles with adjoining estates were leased,

one at Armenburg, where the Swiss had found a home; another at Engelthal, where the Würtemberg exiles were placed; and still another at Haag.

For the use of these estates the Society paid an annual sum of 18,000 florins. As high as five and one-half florins were paid for the use of a morgen of land.

The members lived for the most part together in the castle or adjoining buildings, and in a large room in the castle meetings were held, and the children were taught; they worked the land together, sold the products and divided the proceeds equally. At first they did not eat at the same table, but when they saw that it would be cheaper to eat together this plan was adopted.

Here we have the first beginnings of the communistic life, which the Society afterwards adopted. It arose unconsciously, from small beginnings, with no thought of the results which would flow from it.

A few of the members were artisans, and preferred to work at their old trades rather than work on the estates. Therefore the societies rented a few factories, where those who were skilled in trades were placed. The members at the Castle of Haag leased a woolen mill, a grist mill, and an oil mill, the expenses being borne by the Society, which was taxed to its utmost in order to satisfy all bills and to keep the wolf from the door. In Armenburg a woolen mill was erected by the Society, so that the members could find employment.

For a time it seemed impossible for the Society to take care of all who came, but soon their woolen goods became famous throughout the country. They had adopted the motto, "*Honesty is the best policy*," a motto which they have always lived up to in all their dealings. The goods were more and more in demand. It was found that they used the best material, and took the greatest care in the making of them.

In 1837 the first love feast since the revival of 1817, was held at Armenburg.

Jacob Dorr, of Bergheim, and William Metz, a cousin of

C. Metz, both joined the Society, in which they worked faithfully for the furtherance of their creed.

Many people belonging to other denominations came to visit the members of the Society, having heard or read much about their peculiar ways.

Once a number of pious people called Die Weisen (*"the Whites"*), because they dressed in white, perhaps to imitate the angels, came to Hessen. These people claimed to be inspired. They had a prophet who said he could foretell future events. But the members of the Society would not have anything to do with these people, who were undoubtedly religious fanatics, for they believed that the world would come to an end on a certain day, and the believers giving up work, patiently waited, clad in white, for the day when they should be taken to the other world. These were the forerunners of the Adventists. All their money was put into a common fund, on which they all lived. They assembled in the house of the prophet, where they spent entire days engaged in prayer. The prophet, with many others, was taken to prison where he died, when most of the others were released. These poor enthusiasts wandered about and finally came to Hessen where a few joined the Society.

Many of Die Weisen were good, christian people, who tried to live a godly life, but in their enthusiasm they undoubtedly carried their mode of worship too far.

There had been a contest fought in the courts years before, as to whether an affirmation could be made instead of an oath, and whether persons conscientiously could learn the art of war when their lives and their principles were those of peace. Some principalities had decided in favor of the Society, others against it. Hesse-Darmstadt had been the most liberal, and it was in this principality that the majority of them found a refuge. But enemies who were jealous of the success of the Society soon began to stir up a feeling of dissatisfaction among the ruling classes, and so the old liberties were little by little taken away.

When the year 1841 had arrived things had come to a crisis,

for encroachments had been made from all sides. The members assembled quietly and drew up a last imploring request to the Ministry at Darmstadt, begging for more freedom. They wished to affirm instead of taking an oath in civil matters, claiming that it was inconsistent with the Scriptures to take an oath. They wished to educate their own children, and were willing to support the State schools besides. Up to this time the children had been obliged to attend the other schools, where instruction was nearly all of a character in accordance with the Established Church. They said they could not under any circumstances take up arms, believing it to be inconsistent with the Bible; therefore they could not conscientiously spend the best years of their lives in learning the art of war, which seemed so inconsistent with true religion.

It was decided that none of these requests could be granted. This decision seemed the death-knell to the very existence of the Society, for faithful believers had come as exiles and fugitives from many parts of Europe, and now their hope of toleration was destroyed.

But great changes had taken place in Europe from 1830 to 1840.

When the French for a third time discarded their king, altered their constitution and chose a "citizen king" for ruler, the elements of discontent were set in motion all over Europe. Kings trembled and ministers, narrow and superstitious, advised the rulers to press the yoke more firmly on the people, so that they would not rebel.

Revolts broke out in nearly every large city in Europe. The Poles rose in an unsuccessful attempt to throw off their shackles; the Belgians proclaimed their independence; while in Italy, Mazzini, the patriot, and prophet of Italian liberty, arose from obscurity; in England the Reform Bill, the slavery agitation, and Chartism were convulsing the public mind; but Germany, always conservative, rather fell back a step than took a stride forward in the march of freedom and reform.

Besides the unfortunate results which had directly or in-

directly come from this revolutionary spirit which had spread discontent among some nations and freedom among others, there were other causes which led to dissatisfaction and finally removal upon the part of the Society of True Inspiration.

Land was too high for most of the members, who were in moderate circumstances. To purchase wood was costly, and there was no coal to be had. Rent for estates and factories was exorbitant, and increased every year. During the summer of 1841 no rain fell, so absolutely nothing was raised. The landlord wanted his rent as usual, regardless of the failure of crops. Everything seemed dark and dreary, for the leaders of the Society were unable to meet the demands for money.

One day, as Christian Metz was walking over a hill, absorbed in meditation as to the future outlook of the Society, he came within sight of the mills and estates that had been rented. He heard the hum of the machinery, he saw the toiling workmen bending under their heavy loads, he saw the little children playing and shouting around the house doors; he saw the women in the adjoining fields bending over the sheaves, sickles in hand, trying to get something, even the straw, in return for the summer's work. While he stood there absorbed in thought, something "opened itself to him as if a ray of light suddenly burst from heaven."¹ He felt that one Hand was still powerful. 'If they only could have faith in that divine Hand, all would be taken from the land of bondage to a land of freedom, equality and fraternity.' Christian Metz told some of his friends about this sudden glimpse into the future. Others said they had had similar feelings, but dared not express them.

On the 21st of July, 1842, one of the members became inspired, and it seemed to him that the members should all leave their native land and should settle in one place, live under the same laws, and adopt a "community of goods" which then had many admirers in Europe. This movement had been caused by the appearance of E. Cabet's book on Communism, called

¹ *Inspirations Historie*, II., p. 112.

"*The Voyage and Adventures of Lord Causdal in Icaria*," a book much like More's *Utopia*. Still more prominent was Fourierism which had become universal.

All the elders were summoned to meet at Armenburg, where they discussed the matter thoroughly but came to no decision. Another meeting was held at Engelthal, where this important matter was again discussed. It was plain enough to them that they would have to leave Germany on account of the severe measures of the government, and the failure of the crops of the preceding year, which had depleted their finances. They were still undecided where to go, but it seemed that the United States offered the best advantages.

Johann Adam Gruber had settled near Philadelphia over a century before, and had corresponded with members of the Society until the time of his death, 1763. It is not unlikely that they were acquainted with the Rappists, a small body of Protestants who had been driven from Würtemberg in 1803, and who under the guidance of their leader, George Rapp, had found a refuge and a home in America, where they had adopted a "community of goods," which they claimed was the doctrine of the primitive Christians. They settled at Economy, Pennsylvania, fifteen miles west of Pittsburg, where there is still a prosperous community. Another division of these people settled at Harmony, Posey county, Indiana; their property was sold to Robert Owen.

The Inspirationists probably knew of the Dunkers, who sprung up in Schwarzenau in 1708, about the time that they themselves began their existence. The Dunkers were persecuted and fled to Holland, where they remained until 1719, when twenty families landed in Philadelphia; soon more followed, and by 1842, they had congregations in nearly every state of the Union.

On the 14th of August, 1842, the elders decided that four men should be elected to look up a place for them in America or any other country suitable for a new home, where they could all live in common.

The four men selected for this difficult and responsible task

were Christian Metz, G. A. Weber, Wilhelm Noé, and Gottlieb Ackermann, in whose hands was placed all power to act in matters concerning a suitable place, and concerning the amount of land to be purchased.

After a love-feast held at Armenburg, they bade each other farewell on the 5th of September, 1842. It was an affecting sight to see a thousand people or more assembled; in this large gathering every one shed tears, feeling that all would soon follow these leaders into a foreign land, where they knew hardships without number must be endured.

Wilhelm Mörschell and a son of Weber accompanied them to Bremen, where they had to wait six days for a vessel.

Ferdinand, the son of Weber, would not return, so they concluded to take him with them.

On the 20th of September they embarked on the sailing vessel *New York*, Captain Wächter; and Wilhelm Mörschell bade them God-speed and returned home.

The voyage lasted thirty-six days. The room they had was so small that part of them had to go to bed in order to give the others room to sit down. Finally another room was taken, but this was also uncomfortable. Ackermann became very sick, and this illness lasted a long time after he arrived at their place of destination.

They had two severe thunder-storms and many hard winds. The food-supply was nearly exhausted, and many of the passengers were sick when the ship finally reached New York, October 26th, 1842.

Here they were detained for some time on account of Ackermann's illness. While staying in New York, the Captain introduced them to a land-agent, Paulsen, who had land all over western New York and Pennsylvania. He offered them (as he said) a great bargain in Chautauqua county, New York, near Erie, Pennsylvania. He also gave them letters of recommendation to land-agents in Wisconsin.

They went by steamboat to Albany, and from Albany to Buffalo on a canal boat. The weather was cold, snow fell, and the rapidly forming ice impeded their progress. On

November 12th they reached Buffalo and found a German hotel, where they rested for several days.

The committee proceeded with Mr. Paulsen, the agent, to the land near Chautauqua Lake which he had offered them for sale. The journey was made by steamboat to Dunkirk, and thence across the country. They found the land comparatively worthless and distant from any available market, Erie being the nearest town of any size. The return-trip to Buffalo was made by road, and the project of settling at Chautauqua Lake was definitely abandoned.

This journey is spoken of in the records of the Society as one of great hardship, and indeed one can well imagine that the November storms and the ice-cold winds which prevail in the lake country during that most inhospitable of months must have rendered even that short voyage from Buffalo to Dunkirk one of some difficulty. Although the distance from Dunkirk to Chautauqua Lake is really an insignificant one when measured in miles, the wretched roads and the cold weather gave them an exaggerated idea of the inclemency of the climate and the bareness of the country. It is impossible not to reflect how different would have been the present surroundings of this now famous summer resort if the committee had decided upon this purchase. In place of that brilliant semi-religious, semi-fashionable place of resort, filled with throngs of sober and throngs of frivolous-minded people, the quiet of the monotonous life of the Community would have reigned around the shores of the lake, and dominated the adjacent country. But their refusal to purchase these lands was a wise one. The situation was at the time an isolated one, no railways, no canals, no good highways connected that remote (though not remote) district with the great thoroughfares east and west, and no prescience could have foreseen the future popularity of Chautauqua. In this, as in other things, the men who represented the Community showed themselves far-seeing, prudent, and equal-minded, with a view not only to the seclusion which might tend to preserve their religious doctrines in their purity, but to a sufficient oppor-

tunity for the development of their material strength and their increase in wealth.

After their return this experience with one land-agent had made them cautious, and at the same time had filled them with a certain discouragement, but Dorsheimer, their host in Buffalo, told them about the Indian Reservation near that city which was soon to be vacated by the Seneca tribe. This strip of land, amounting to several thousand acres, had been bought from the government by the Ogden Land Company, viz: Thomas Ogden, of New York City, Wadsworth & Sons, of Geneseo, and Joseph Fellows, of Geneva.

After a thorough investigation of the resources of the Seneca Reservation, a contract was made with Fellows, agent of the Land Co., for 10,000 acres at \$10.50 per acre.

The contract was sent to Ogden to be signed, but he refused to recognize the sale Fellows had made. Metz, Ackermann, Weber and Noé, with Dorsheimer as interpreter, now had to go to Geneva to see Fellows; he could do nothing about the matter, but told them to see Wadsworth & Sons at Geneseo, who owned the controlling interest in the company. The Wadsworths were very courteous, but said that land had risen in value, and that it would be impossible to sell at the figures Fellows had given them; still if Ogden was willing to sell at that price, they would confirm the contract. They then returned to Buffalo to wait for a reply from Ogden.

By January, 1843, they had received no answer, and they wrote him that they would look for land farther west as they could wait no longer. Mr. Ogden immediately requested them to come to New York City, where all the stock-holders were to be present at a meeting, and might grant them favorable terms.

Once more they left Buffalo, but with small hope of any agreement. On the journey they discussed the feasibility of the undertaking. Noé thought 4,000 acres would be enough, while Metz maintained that the amount they had bargained for was not too much. They finally made concessions on both sides and put the amount down to 5,000 acres, which amount

after much discussion and wrangling on part of the Land Company was bought for \$10.50 per acre, setting the limit this time within six miles of Buffalo. It would have been better if they had bought the 10,000 acres, for nearly all this same land was afterwards purchased at a much higher price.

They wrote to Germany rejoicing over their good fortune, but they were ignorant of the trials which were to be endured before the land could be called their own.

The Indians as soon as they heard of the sale began to show signs of hostility. Perhaps it is due to this fact that there had been so few buyers, for the people around Buffalo knew Indian character too well.

After this purchase Metz and Ackermann made a visit to Galion, Crawford county, Ohio, where there existed a small society of Germans, many of whom they had known in the Fatherland.

It has been stated in other articles upon the history of the Community that the communistic mode of life was in vogue at Galion, and that Metz and Ackermann made a study of its practical workings with a view of employing it or not in their own enterprises as the results at Galion seemed favorable or unfavorable. This view of the case is not taken by the members of the Community. They deny the existence of communism at Galion, and therefore any influence from it upon their own future. This visit was simply a friendly one made to see old friends, to observe the country, and to fill up the time of enforced inactivity. It may be said, however that Metz and Ackermann found the country rich and the German settlement prosperous, and after a visit of six weeks returned to Buffalo.

On their return they found that fifty of their number had already arrived from Germany. No preparation had been made to receive them, for they were not expected until later. The men were set to work erecting houses, while the older people and the women were permitted to stay in the old log huts which the Indians had abandoned.

On May 1st, 1843, the first village of a communistic nature

was laid out, much after the manner of the old German village. It was called Ebenezer (*Eben*, a stone, and *ezer*, meaning help), no doubt from the fact that there was much similarity in their own history to the circumstance mentioned in I Samuel, vii, 12, where it is stated that Samuel set up a monumental stone as a memorial of divine assistance in a battle against the Philistines; their battle had been a combat for truth and for freedom of conscience, which had been denied them in their native land, and which they now hoped to enjoy unmolested in the land of freedom.

In the same year two other villages were laid out which were called Upper and Lower Ebenezer, the first being named Middle Ebenezer.

The members continued to come in parties of fifty during the remainder of the year. Some came by way of Bremen, others via Antwerp, and still others via Havre. The latter route was the best, as provisions were furnished by the company, and the vessels were better in many ways. Those who came by Bremen and Antwerp had to furnish their own provisions, the ships were slow sailers, and consequently the emigrants often suffered from hunger.

During the summer of 1843 a large meeting-house was erected. Several school houses and many dwellings were built from the rough logs which were cut in the timber. A saw mill was also erected and operated for their own use.

The Indians were enraged as they saw these people planting and building and threatening to make short work of them, and the settlers applied to Fellows, the land agent, who had promised that the Indians should soon depart for the West. Fellows arrested a few Indians because they hauled and sold wood which belonged to the Ebenezer Community. The Indians in return claimed that the Community had no deed to the land, and therefore had no right to cut trees on it.

Matters went from bad to worse, and finally a council of arbitration was decided upon. Metz, Noé, and Weber appeared for the Community, and John Seneca with his chiefs and Osborne, their lawyer, represented the Indians.

The Indians wanted to be paid for their land a second time, to which the Community would not consent, for the Land Company had bought both the government right and the Indian-claim. The Indians, incited by bad white men and poor whiskey, would not make concessions, and thus ended the first congress of peace without accomplishing any result.

The factories in Germany had been built by the Society, but were managed by the poor exiles from France and Switzerland who were allowed all the profits. Here we may perhaps see the first unconscious step towards Communism. It was clearly seen that all these people could never acquire homes of their own, even if the Society paid the passage across the ocean. The welfare of the Society depended upon unity, and this could be best accomplished if the communistic plan were adopted. It was therefore decided that all the money should be turned into a common fund, and that each contribution should be returned without interest whenever the contributor wished to leave the Society. A few of the members were wealthy, but they gave up every penny in their possession without grumbling, feeling that it would be an act of charity, a blessing and a lasting benefit to hundreds of poor people who did not possess anything they could call their own.

By the end of 1843 three hundred and fifty persons had arrived. Those remaining in Germany were trying to dispose of their property, but they were not successful. The landlords at Laubach and Büdingen were unwilling to take back their estates when they heard that the members were about to leave. The members in America needed money to pay for the land, but none could be raised, since they were unable to sell their German property at any price.

In this crisis C. L. Meyer, from Zoar, Ohio, joined the Community. He became of great value to them, as he knew English perfectly, and also had a knowledge of law, which was of the utmost importance in the endless contest with the Land Company on one hand and the stubborn Indians on the other.

By April, 1844, the purchase price for the Reservation had

to be at Washington. The Ogden Land Company could not meet the demand and thus fell back on the Community, which by credit and loans raised a sum of \$50,000, which was sent to Washington. Still the Community had no deed to the land. Becoming anxious about the title, Metz and Meyer went to New York City to investigate the matter. The Land Company could give no deed, since the title had not yet passed into their hands.

On their return to Buffalo they became still more discouraged at receiving a legal document from the attorneys of John Seneca, warning them to vacate the lands within one week, or there would be trouble. To pay \$50,000, nearly the entire sum, and then to be driven away seemed almost unendurable, but they did not know what to expect from the treacherous Indians.

Another council of arbitration was held, which resulted as unfortunately as the first, for the Indians were supported by able lawyers, and had imbibed firewater so freely as to make the scene doubly interesting and exciting.

The Community now appealed to the government at Washington. The Indians were ordered to leave for the homes assigned them in the West, but they were in no hurry, and brought their case before the courts of New York, and after a period of several years the case was decided in favor of the Ebenezer Community by Judge Hall.

This decision put an end to the Indian troubles, which had been very annoying; although they never led to bloodshed, feelings of intense hatred on part of the Indians, who were stirred up by many of the whites, placed the Community in jeopardy if at any time an outbreak had occurred.

In June, 1844, two hundred and seventeen members came on the ship *Florida* via Havre; and in the following year Wilhelm Mörschell, Ernest Klein, G. Döller, C. Wilhelm, and many others, came by the same route.

This put an end to the emigration, and from this time on only a few came now and then.

More than eight hundred persons had come over, and all

had found comfortable homes and were well pleased both with the country and the communistic mode of life which the Society had adopted.

Many remained in Germany, some, because they were in good circumstances and were surrounded by relatives and friends with whom they could not part; in others, love of home and native land were too strong,—they felt bound to the soil from which they sprang, and could not be torn away from it. The communication between the two countries ceased by degrees, and has now become nearly extinct. This is due to the fact that the members in Germany fell away, and the younger ones did not follow in the steps of their fathers.

The constitution was ratified by the members on the 15th of February, 1845, and the Community was incorporated by the laws of the State. In August of the same year a warranty deed for the land was obtained.

Improvements were made, two saw mills, two woolen mills, and several factories were erected, while the amount of land was increased to between 8,000 and 9,000 acres. This was all the land they could obtain at moderate prices.

Among them were found skillful workmen representing all trades. There were carpenters, blacksmiths, tailors and jewelers. Implements and machinery were brought from Germany. It must be borne in mind that these persons came in sailing-vessels, when a passenger was allowed any amount of luggage, and canal-boat charges were about the same whether a passenger owned 100 or 1000 pounds. They took advantage of the opportunity.

The majority of the members who had come to America belonged to the sturdy peasant class of Germany, that class which forms the "bone and marrow" of all governments. They came to this land of freedom to adopt an entirely new mode of life; they had no experience in this new scheme which they wanted to adopt; they had but scanty means; they knew nothing of the language, the laws or business methods of the country; still they possessed one advantage over the other societies which had adopted similar methods;

the leaders of this society were neither agitators nor theorists,—like Cabet and Owen—but they were sagacious, far-sighted men, with much practical knowledge, something worth more than all the high-flown speculative theories in existence. It is due to the executive abilities of the trustees that the Society has been so successful financially.

Notwithstanding their prosperity at Ebenezer, the elders preferred another locality where cheaper land could be obtained, and in 1855 the Society elected C. M. Winzenried, John Beyer, Jacob Wittmer, and Friedrich Heinemann, to go West in search of a favorable place for a new colony.

REMOVAL TO IOWA.

The Community had expressed no views as to where this committee should go, but it was understood that the land must lie at least west of Chicago. They thought of going to Wisconsin, but as a new railroad had just been completed to Davenport, and the tide of emigration flowed in that direction, they followed the mighty army of land-seekers.

From Davenport they went to Muscatine, and from that place up the Iowa River on a steamboat to Iowa City, a booming town, the capital of the state, where land agents flourished and where boomers grew rich in the practice of their trade.

There was then no railroad nearer than Davenport, but the stage coach and the Iowa River, which was then a good-sized stream where steamboats plied back and forth, brought the town into contact with the rest of the world.

The country was beautiful, the rolling prairies to the west were for the most part still untouched by the advance guard of civilization. The farther west the members came, the more beautiful appeared the country. There were only a few settlers in Iowa County, and these were along the timber.

It was only in 1843 that the Indians relinquished their claims to the land; and in the following year, according to *Andreas' Atlas*, the first settlement was made near the present site of Homestead, by Lineas Miles and John Burgett.

At Homestead, then a post office connected by a stage line

with Davenport and Des Moines, the members remained for some time making excursions to different parts of the county.

Any amount of land could be purchased for from \$1.25 to \$5.00 per acre, both from the government and from the scattering settlers who were willing to sell at a small profit.

The members sent letters home describing the country in glowing terms. They saw many advantages which Ebenezer did not possess. Land was cheap and many thousand acres could be purchased in one strip, which was impossible in New York. For farming Iowa was superior to New York; and the rise in the value of land would probably be much greater.

There was another reason why Iowa seemed so much superior to Ebenezer. These sagacious men saw clearly that to preserve the purity and obedience of their members it was necessary to live, as much as possible, secluded from the world. To be near a growing city like Buffalo, where the members, especially the younger ones, were exposed to all the temptations of city life, was not the place for a religious and communistic society. For this reason, more than for any other, they preferred some secluded, quiet place in the West, where they could practice the doctrines of their creed undisturbed, and carry on communism without coming in contact with the rest of mankind.

The natural advantages of the place they had chosen offered facilities superior to any other place they had visited. The alluvial soil (bottom land) along the Iowa River is the richest in the state; the river furnished plenty of water for their stock and was large enough to drive any kind of machinery they wished to erect. The splendid timber,—oak, hickory, walnut, and maple,—would not only supply them with fuel, but with building material, which was then difficult to obtain, for the railroad extended only to Davenport. The clay was excellent for the manufacture of brick; limestone was found along a few bluffs,—enough to supply them with lime until better railroad facilities could be obtained. These were soon to come, for the capital had been located at Fort Des Moines during this year, and there the legislature met for the first time, in 1858.

The news from Ebenezer was favorable, and the Society, without further deliberation, bought a large strip of land, amounting to nearly 18,000 acres, which was afterwards laid out in a township by itself. The government land was worth from \$1.25 to \$2.50, and that owned by settlers from \$3.00 to \$5.00 per acre.

As soon as this immense tract of land had been purchased, the bravest of the Ebenezer Community set out for the country they expected to make their permanent home.

A large number went by steamboat to Chicago, and from there by rail to Davenport, from which place they had to go by stage direct to Homestead. Others who brought horses, cattle and implements drove across the country, arriving much later than the first party.

In the same summer (1855) a town was laid out on a beautiful sloping hillside, about one mile north of the Iowa River, near a charming little lake of about 200 acres, and with a stream (Price Creek) running through the village.

No more beautiful spot could have been chosen, and the natural advantages were also favorable—running water, plenty of timber, and a healthy location. On this spot all the hopes of the future were centered; here all was risked for the sake of obtaining a home. They had but little on which to rely, but they trusted to “strong hands and willing hearts” and began to clear the soil, to dig out the stone from the quarries and to put it into substantial buildings, which are still standing, as strong as ever, having defied wind and weather for nearly half a century.

A suitable name for the village was wanted, and as ten years previously they had gone to the Bible for a name, so once more they consulted the sacred Book, which is the cornerstone of their faith, for another name which would be appropriate. The hill called Amana described by Solomon in his Song (chap. iv, 8), resembles, perhaps, in beauty of surroundings, the place to which the members gave the same name,—but there is a meaning in the word Amana, which undoubtedly led them to select it. It means, “remain true,”—a motto from which they have never wavered. Mr. Nordhoff, in

his "*Communitistic Societies of the United States*," says that one of the members took the Bible and it fell open where Solomon speaks of this hill; therefore, he says, the village was named Amana. This statement the elders of the Society strenuously deny.

It was inconvenient to work all the land and live in one village, nor was it desirable to have many people congregated in one place. Therefore other towns were laid out as fast as the people came from Ebenezer.

West Amana, five miles west of Old Amana, and South Amana, six miles southwest of Amana, were begun in 1856; High Amana in 1857, East Amana in 1860, Homestead in 1861, Middle Amana in 1862, and a new South Amana, half a mile south of the old town, on the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railroad, in 1883. Homestead was an old post office and village. This, the Society bought when the Rock Island Railroad was extended through in October, 1861.

It was nearly ten years before the last members of the Society came from Ebenezer to Iowa, having then sold all their property in that place. Twelve hundred in all had crossed the states which lie between New York and the Iowa River.

In 1857, the third Constitutional Convention met at Iowa City, to frame a new Constitution for the State. The members of the Society had not yet drawn up any articles of incorporation, for they wished to see the outcome of the Convention; neither did the members buy more land, for they had an idea that the framers of the Constitution would perhaps not recognize large corporations.

On the 5th of March, 1857, that body completed its work, which was approved by the people in the next year.

Article VIII, Sec. 1, of that Constitution says: No corporation shall be created by special laws; but the General Assembly shall provide, by general laws, for the organization of all corporations hereafter to be created."

Article VIII, Sec. 12, says: "The General Assembly shall have power to amend or repeal all laws for the organization or creation of corporations, or granting of special exclusive

privileges or immunities, by a vote of two-thirds of each branch of the General Assembly; and no exclusive privileges, except as in this article provided, shall ever be granted."

In 1859 the Society drew up its articles of incorporation, and assumed the name of the "Amana Society." In New York they had assumed the name of "Ebenezer Community." The name, as a religious body, "Society of True Inspiration," by which they had been known in Germany, was still retained.

They were incorporated under an act of the General Assembly, entitled "An act for the incorporation of benevolent, charitable, religious and scientific societies," approved March 22, 1858.

"ARTICLES OF INCORPORATION" OF THE "AMANA SOCIETY."

STATE OF IOWA, IOWA COUNTY,—SS:

To all Whom these Presents shall Come, Greeting:

KNOW YE, That William Mörschell, Charles M. Winzenried, Christman Wilhelm, Christian Metz, Theobald Heimbürger, John Beyer, Jacob Whittmer, Jacob Schnetzler, Samuel Scheuner, George Walz, Jacob Winzenried, Joseph Elzer, and Peter Haldy, all of lawful age and citizens of the United States, and a majority of us citizens of the State of Iowa, and County of Iowa, for the purpose of forming ourselves into a religious and charitable society, for the benefit of ourselves, our associates and successors, under and by virtue of an act of the General Assembly of the State of Iowa, entitled "An act for the incorporation of benevolent, charitable, religious and scientific societies," approved March 22,

¹ See McClain's Annotated Code of Iowa, Ed. of 1888, Secs. 1653-1664. Sec. 1649 has the following about the duration. 'Corporations organized under this chapter shall endure for the period of fifty years from and after their organization unless sooner dissolved by a vote of three-fourths of all the members thereof or by operation of law.' This amendment is not found in the Revision of 1860, but has been passed since, and consequently does not apply to the Amana Society which may endure any length of time; but the General Assembly may, at any session, fix a time when all such corporations shall be dissolved.

1858, do hereby certify that this society shall be known in law by the name of *Amana Society*. That the principal place of business of the Society shall be in Iowa county, in the State of Iowa. That the principal object of this Society shall be to promote the temporal and spiritual welfare and happiness of its members. That the principal business of this Society shall be to purchase and receive real and personal property, to use, own, and carry on agricultural and mechanical pursuits, to build and erect on said real estate villages, churches, school houses, factories, and make such other buildings and improvements, and carry on and perform such other business as may be deemed essential to the well-being, happiness, and prosperity of this Society.

That the legislative or managing department of this Society shall consist of thirteen trustees, who shall be elected annually at such time and in such a manner as may be specified in its by-laws. That the executive department of this Society shall consist of one director, one vice-director, and one secretary, the vice-director only acting in the absence of the director and performing his duties,— who shall be elected by the trustees and out of their number, and hold office for one year, and be elected at such times and perform such acts and duties as may be required of them by virtue of the by-laws of said Society. And that the following persons are to act as officers of said society for the first year of its existence, viz.: William Mörschell, Sr., Charles Winzenried, Christman Wilhelm, Christian Metz, Theobald Heimbürger, John Beyer, Jacob Whittmer, Jacob Schnetzler, Samuel Scheuner, George Walz, Jacob Winzenried, Joseph Elzer, Peter Haldy.

In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands and seals this 8th day of December, A. D. 1859.

WILLIAM MÖRSCHELL,	CHARLES WINZENRIED,
CHRISTMAN WILHELM,	CHRISTIAN METZ,
THEOBALD HEINBURGER,	JOHN BEYER,
JACOB WHITTMER,	JACOB SCHNETZLER,
SAMUEL SCHEUNER,	JOSEPH ELZER,
GEORGE WALZ,	JACOB WINZENRIED,
	PETER HALDY.

STATE OF IOWA, IOWA COUNTY,—ss:

I do hereby certify that before me, William H. Wallace, county judge in and for said county, personally appeared the above named William Mörschell, Sr., Charles M. Winzenried, Christman Wilhelm, Christian Metz, Theobald Heimburger, John Beyer, Jacob Whittmer, Jacob Schnetzler, Samuel Scheuner, George Walz, Jacob Winzenried, Joseph Elzer, Peter Haldy, who are personally known to me to be the identical persons who signed the above and foregoing instrument as affidavits, and acknowledged the same to be their voluntary act and deed for the uses and purposes therein signed.

Witness my hand and seal of said county, at Marengo, the 8th day of December, A. D. 1859.

W. H. WALLACE, *County Judge.*

Recorded December 13, 1859.

E. H. HENDERSHOTT,

County Recorder.

By A. B. ESHLEMAN, *Deputy.*

When the articles of incorporation were adopted, a well written constitution similar to the Ebenezer constitution was prepared and approved.¹

Every effort was directed to paying off the debt they had contracted. Improvements were made on the lands; the wet lands were drained and the timber lands were cleared. Factories of different kinds were erected, but Price Creek did not furnish the necessary water for the mills at Old Amana and in 1863 a canal was dug from the Iowa River so as to supply Amana with water power. The canal was nine miles long, and it took more than three years to complete the great undertaking. An artesian well was begun, which is 1600 feet deep and yields a fine flow of warm, sulphuric water. It is used in the dye works. Another well was started on a high hill near South Amana, but although they worked for several years, they have so far been unsuccessful in obtaining a flow.

¹ See *Appendix A.*

Two large grist mills were erected, one at Old Amana, the other at West Amana. These were of the greatest importance to the farmers in the vicinity, for there were no other mills nearer than Cedar Rapids and Iowa City, and for a distance of fifty miles to the west there were none at all. Every village had its saw mill, machine shops, and store, all of which were of great importance to the surrounding country.

Among the many noble pioneers of Iowa, who suffered and toiled for the younger generation, we may class the members of the Amana Society. They suffered the hardships of frontier life, they worked and toiled, and helped to build up the state and make it what it is to-day,—one of the foremost in the West. They were the first to erect factories, and while many others did so later and failed, the hum of the machinery in Amana is still heard and the Amana goods are sold throughout the United States.

The Calico Print Mills were erected in Old Amana. They color and print from 3,000 to 4,000 yards daily. The heavy cotton goods are manufactured in the South for the Society. These are called “blue print” and have a great reputation throughout the country.

Two woolen mills were also erected, one in Old Amana, and another in Middle Amana, where nearly 3,000 yards of woolen goods are made daily. They have over 3,000 sheep, but these do not supply them with enough wool, as they use over half a million pounds annually. They receive wool from Texas, Colorado, and sometimes from Australia. Their woolen goods are made with the greatest care and of the best material. There is no “piece work” method here, for everything is done well, without the rush and hurry which we see in other factories. Their goods are the best in the market, and the following expression is often heard: “Colony goods, full width, a yard wide.” Six agents are on the road selling their goods, which are in demand from Maine to the Pacific.

Great quantities of flour are sold annually. They have soap factories, starch factories, hominy mills, and book-binderies.

Conrad Schadt, a well-known chemist, makes great quantities of pepsin, which by actual test is considered the best in the market. Mr. Schadt was the first man west of Chicago who began the manufacture of this article.

The Society has three physicians who look after the sick and feeble, viz.—Dr. Winzenried, who lives at Old Amana, a graduate of Rush Medical College, class '65; Dr. Hermann, of Middle Amana, a graduate of the medical department of the State University of Iowa, class '81; and Dr. Mörschell, of Homestead, State University of Iowa, '88.

The presidents of the Society since the removal to Iowa have been C. M. Winzenried (1855-81), J. Beyer (1881-83), Friedrich Mörschell (1883-89), Jacob Whittmer (1889-91), and P. Trautmann (1891-), the present incumbent.

The trustees, thirteen in number, are elected annually by the eligible citizens, twenty-one years of age. The trustees elect a president, vice-president, and secretary, from their number. There are eighty elders, who look after the spiritual welfare of the Community. They take turns in conducting meetings on Sundays and Wednesdays, and the prayer meetings held every evening.

During the war the Society petitioned Congress to be exempted from military duties. In 1863 Congress passed an act that by paying \$300 a man could be exempted from military duties. This the members accepted in lieu of a special act and much money was paid out of their general fund to defray these expenses.¹

In 1867, Christian Metz, the pioneer and main-stay of the Society since 1817 was laid to rest, and in 1883 Barbara Heinemann Landmann died, in her eighty-eighth year. These two were the only members who have been inspired during the existence of the Society in America. No one since then has been inspired, but the writings which they left behind are read in their meetings, for edification and solace.

¹ This purchase of substitutes for those who were drafted has afforded the Society regret, and it has seemed to the members that it was perhaps inconsistent.

THEIR RELIGIOUS DOCTRINES.¹

They believe in the inspiration of the Bible and take it as the corner-stone of their faith, trying to live according to the teachings of Christ and the Apostles.

They think that as God revealed hidden things through visions, dreams and by revelations in olden times, He can do so now.

They believe in Inspiration, and maintain that Inspiration can take place now as well as formerly. Inspiration, according to their ideas, "is a supernatural influence of the spirit of God on the human mind, by which persons are qualified to set forth divine truth," The one who becomes subject to Inspiration must have a "pure heart, a free soul without prior judgment, meek and obedient to divine will."

They believe that there is false as well as true Inspiration, and that prophesying did not cease with the Apostles.

They think the ministry of the gospel depends on Inspiration, and is not limited by class or sex. Therefore all members have an equal right to teach and exhort in public meetings; they think that if one is not led by the right spirit, no system of theological training can fit one to explain Scriptures. With them, "the Holy Ghost is sought from within, not from without."

They believe in prayer, both in meetings and at home in the closet. It is the "spontaneous expression of the soul which should not be fettered by any fixed or prescribed formula."

They do not believe in the Trinity as three distinct persons, but they reverently believe in the Three conceived of as One.

They do not believe in a purgatory, nor in a millenium in this life; nor in predestination.

They believe in the resurrection, in a reward for the good and punishment for the wicked.

They do not baptize with water, for they believe that baptism is purely spiritual.

¹ From their Catechism and other books.

They believe in and use the Lord's Supper, but only as a symbol of an inward feasting with the Lord. It is not used at any stated time or place, but after severe trials, or misfortunes; for the strengthening of the young members; in the commemorating of the suffering of Christ. Several days spent in prayer are necessary in order to participate in this rite.

They practice feet-washing, and have love feasts, much in the manner of the primitive Christians.

They believe war to be inconsistent with christianity,—i. e., with the teachings of Christ and the Apostles.

Oaths are inadmissible, since they were forbidden by Christ.

They use salutations, but object to frivolous plays as recreations which divert the mind from God.

Singing is indulged in at meetings and at home, for edification, but instrumental music is forbidden.

In dress they are plain and simple.

The burial customs are simple, without the ostentation of many other denominations. No costly monuments are used, but only a small slab of wood, painted white, bearing an inscription of the name and age of the deceased.

They do not believe in prayer for the dead nor in any outward form of mourning, but the memory of the departed members is cherished with more than filial affection in the hearts of friends,—something worth more than hired mourners and outward show.

COMMUNISM.

This subject has been so fully treated by so many able writers, that it would be folly to discuss it at length. However a few words may be said neither against nor for the system, but to show how it has been carried out by this Community.

Wolsey gives three reasons why a community of goods is adopted:

1st. That similarly disposed persons may come together and lead a life, which they could not lead among their fellow-men.

2d. Because some persons have revolutionary ideas they wish to promulgate.

3d. Because others have Utopian plans for the rectification of society.

The first of these three is the *raison d'être* of the Amana Society.

The communities founded in the United States have nearly all had glorious beginnings, but the results have rarely been satisfactory. Of them all, the Shakers, who left England in 1774, are the oldest and the largest, but they have dwindled to less than one-half; numbering now about 2,500. From 1774 to 1843 eleven societies had been founded, nearly all of which have been total failures. The average duration of eight was one and a half years. Since 1843 thirty-five communities have been organized on Fourier's plan, and the greater number of these have also been compelled to disband for various causes.¹

Of two communistic societies in Iowa, both came to this State about the same time; both had similar advantages, but how different the results. The French Icarian community founded by Cabet in Texas on industrial methods was moved to Illinois, and from thence to Adams County, Iowa. Cabet, like Owen, substituted, for religion, reason as the cornerstone. Enjoyments, such as the theatre, music and dancing, were encouraged.

These mere social ties do not seem sufficiently strong to bind men closely and firmly together, as was proved in the Brook Farm experiment; quarrels arise and finally dissolution becomes the last resort. Albert Shaw in his "*Icarian Community*" says: "Party strife broke up the Icarian School in France, it divided the colony in Texas, rent the Society to pieces in Nauvoo, and scattered it Iowa." There still exists an Icarian Community in Adams County, Iowa, with about sixty-five members, and another branch called the Icarian-Speranza Community is established near Coverdale, California.

¹ For statistics of the above see Hinds.

The Amana Society has not increased rapidly, but since the adoption of a community of goods there has always been progress in the right direction. More than eight hundred came across the sea and formed the Ebenezer Community, and nearly twelve hundred made their way to Iowa, while at present it numbers about seventeen hundred, with 25,000 acres of land, thousands of cattle, and several mills and factories.

The number in Iowa from 1861 to 1891, taken by decades, is as follows:

January 1st, 1861 —	572 members.
“ “ 1871 —	1466 “
“ “ 1881 —	1521 “
“ “ 1890 —	1660 “
“ “ 1891 —	1688 “

The members have never held “that the ownership of property is a crime,” neither have they belonged to that dreamy class of idealists who continually appeal to sentiment in order to achieve success. Their Teutonic instinct of individuality made them preserve much of their independence, and this they still retain; they never belonged to that class which has nothing at stake, and therefore stirs up insurrections because they have nothing to lose and may have much to win. The Communism of this Society has been founded upon that sober, old christian idea of love which Christ and the Apostles gave to the world.

Some of their ideas upon this subject may be formulated as follows:

a. Religion is the only bond which can unite men in true fellowship.

b. If this is the fundamental doctrine of a Communistic society it will succeed.

c. When Communism is attempted by those who reject a God, or, admitting His existence, deny His interest in human affairs, then it must fail.

d. Reason alone, without a religious and moral obligation,

can not bind men into a community which shall be lasting, harmonious or advantageous.

This bond of religion may probably be considered as the most potent and efficient element of several which have contributed to their success.

Second in importance perhaps is their conception of Communism and their mode of government. The success of a Communistic society does not depend so much on the learning as on the practical common sense of its officers and its members. The truth of this postulate is evident from the history of the societies formed by Cabet and Owen. These were made up, to a great extent, of men of learning, or at least of education, who sacrificed their earthly possessions in the hope of realizing a Utopian dream. The Brook Farm is another instance of the failure of persons of culture and refinement to reform society. The history of the Brook Farm is too well known to bear repetition, but the names of its members will always be a testimony to the fact that theory and successful practice are very far from being the same thing, and that the wisest of philosophers may make the worst of practitioners. New Harmony and Brook Farm were failures—in spite of the wealth, the learning and the high social position of their members; the German Inspiration Community, which has never boasted of the learning of its members, and which can not point to great authors nor to splendid lineages as among its historic treasures, has succeeded, partly, because it possessed, not the elements of outward display, but others more essential to success—industry, frugality and perseverance.

Nearly all other communities have been founded on broad democratic principles with “fraternity and equality” as the war-cry. They have embodied a principle which found its highest attempted expansion at the time of the French Revolution, and signally failed. It is a principle, or a theory rather, for it can hardly be called a principle—it is a theory, which to be realized must presuppose a state of affairs approaching what may be called millennial. “Equality and fraternity” can of course be carried to a certain extent, but they must

recognize in their turn, as everything else must, the limitations of human nature. They must recognize the existence in humanity of one potent element which will always prevent their perfect development, and this is the element of self. Self-abnegation may and can be carried to great lengths—in a monastery; in practical affairs it sinks to the measure of the average character of the average member of society. Enthusiasts and dreamers, dwellers in the clouds, recluses, no doubt may see visions and dream dreams of an absolutely altruistic world—or if not of such a world, at least of a corner where the throbbings and tumult of selfishness yield to the magic of equality and of brotherhood, but the Brook Farm experiment proves, to instance this only, that, even if such an idea be attempted to be realized, enthusiasm will quickly cool and that the members will be given up to faction and party strife.

The Amana Society, on the contrary, has never embodied these Utopian ideas; it is founded, as has been said, upon a basis more sober and less fanciful; it does not endeavor to make human beings more perfect than humanity is capable of being; it rests upon the principles of brotherhood which are taught in the Bible, and not upon those which philosophy has imagined may exist. If Communism can ever be successful it must proceed upon its way in accordance with the limitations of human nature; it can not reckon upon attributes of character which might belong to angels, but are not found among men; it must develop in accordance with, and not in defiance of existing conditions. The failure of most Communistic societies may be traced to the unpractical, theoretical and inchoate ideas of their founders, to the false views of human nature which have usurped the place of true ones, and to the belief that the prejudices of humanity may be, in an instant, reformed or annulled by circumstances. The falsity of this doctrine has been proved over and over again, and human nature remains to-day very much the same as in the time of Plato.

In place, ~~therefore, of adopting~~ a strictly democratic form

of government, which is the ideal of the extreme Communists, the Amana Society has preferred one of an oligarchical nature. The interests of all are entrusted to the wisdom of a few. These act for all. The advantage of this course has been demonstrated, not only in this instance, but in the case of co-operative unions, where the responsibility is generally vested in a few persons who look after the interests of the others.

In the Amana Society rotation in office is not preferred, but annual elections¹ are held, and those who have filled office to satisfaction are generally re-elected. The trustees, to whom is committed the general management of the affairs of the Society, are selected from the men of middle age who understand financial affairs. The elders are chosen from the older members who lead pure lives, and whose services to the Society have been of a faithful and meritorious nature. Thus the most able and the most deserving—those whose fitness is generally acknowledged by the community,—are entrusted with the management of the temporal and moral welfare of all. This conception of Communism and this mode of government may be considered as extremely important elements in the permanency and prosperity of the Community.

To these just-mentioned reasons why the Amana Community has prospered may be added at least two more, and of these the most significant is the system of village life which has been adopted. This preserves a sort of isolation of different groups, while the villages are not far enough apart to interfere in the least with the community-feeling. This segregation into villages has been an important factor in preserving simplicity of life, and in preventing the evils which would probably result from the crowding of all into one town. The Teutonic idea of independent local social organization has asserted itself here, perhaps unconsciously, yet with effect and vigor. The various interests of the villages are overlooked and controlled by the trustees, but the religious and the social

¹ As to qualification of voters see *Appendix A. Bei-Gesetze.*

independence of each village is preserved. It is indeed a sort of federation—where each small hamlet thinks for itself, but acts in harmony with the religious and social policy of the governing center. To enumerate all the advantages to a community of this semi-independent life would be wearisome, for many of them will occur to every reader.

The use of the German language is another tie which binds the members closely together. Indeed as a common origin, a common religion and a common tongue are three of the most powerful concomitants of national life, so the rule does not fail when the life is not national in any broad sense, but is such as it is in the Amana Community, viz.: that of men and women whose aims, whose beliefs and whose principles are identical.

The seclusion, which to some extent induced the Society to establish itself in Iowa, becomes less and less easy to preserve; the growth of population, the militant character of our civilization and the pressure of competition tend to the destruction of such barriers as must fence in a Community if it preserve its simplicity and antique characteristics. The attractions of a world more cosmopolitan can not but have their legitimate results and lessen by degrees the desire upon the part of the newer generation for the methods of their fathers. As progress is a distinctive principle in our American civilization,—a civilization which is strictly aggressive,—it would be almost too much to hope that the distinctiveness of life which has thus far characterized the Society will be immutable, and remain unaffected by the intense influences from without which require adaptation to themselves in what is unlike them, and, if too strongly opposed, become destructive to what stands in their way.

Among the incidents of their Communistic customs may be mentioned the following: ¹

Women have equal rights in religious affairs. At the elections of officers the voters are all male members who have signed the Constitution, widows, and such female members

¹ A statement as to the financial results of their Communism will be found in *Appendix B*.

who are more than thirty years old as are not represented by a male member.¹

New members are seldom admitted, the growth of the Society being mainly from within.

When a new member joins the Society his property is entrusted to the managers, and he receives credit for it upon their books. Should he at any time desire to leave the Society his money is refunded without interest. When he dies it is inherited by his heirs. Marriage is allowed, but a life of celibacy is considered the ideal one.

Rivalry exists between the members. Each one wishes to excel. At the end of the year persons who have accomplished more than might have been expected receive extra wages and are promoted to places of greater importance. The annual allowance for each person is from \$25 to \$75. This allowance is only for luxuries of different kinds, and many spend this money in various ways, still it is considered meritorious to place this money also in the general fund to the credit of the person for whom it is held in trust.

Each family has its own house, with all the freedom possible in regard to home affairs. The children are brought up with special religious training. The houses are nearly the same size, so that one family has no better accommodation than another. Around each house there is a garden, which the family can use. These gardens are full of flowers and fruit, which they can sell if they wish. In these they take a great deal of pride, and here they spend much of their leisure time with their families. This spot is the only place that a family can call its own, and here, as in the factories, ~~every man~~ tries to excel his neighbor. These privileges foster that secret pride inherent in every one—the pride of calling something one's own. These rights, although small, help to maintain harmony within the Society. Albert Shaw relates how a quarrel arose in the Icarian Community and nearly shattered it, because the small gardens, in which the members took delight, were destroyed in order to put all on a perfect footing of equality.

¹ See *Appendix A. Bei-Gesetze.*

During the summer months nearly three hundred hired laborers are employed. This method of depending on outside labor the members do not approve, for the young may thus be led astray, but they are compelled to rely on other labor than their own. The hired men are treated with as much kindness as if they were members, and the laborers in return appreciate this kindness, for they work for the Society for five dollars per month less than the neighboring farmers pay for the same kind of work.

Hinds believes that they ought to have more in common in order to fully realize the benefits of true Communism. It would undoubtedly be much cheaper to have one "kitchen" in a town of 550 inhabitants, but it would be very inconvenient, especially when we remember, that they eat five times a day. These people look after comfort as well as cheapness, and therefore they have erected sixteen kitchens in Amana, ten in Homestead, and a corresponding number in the other villages. Each village has a laundry, bakery and butcher shop, a butter and cheese factory, and wagons from each of these places make their daily rounds as in the cities.

SCHOOLS.

The members believe in education, and spare neither pains nor money in ~~the~~ training of their children, who, they know, eventually will take their places in the management of the temporal as well as the spiritual affairs of the Society. Education is compulsory, and from seven to fourteen every child must attend school the entire year. Those between fourteen and twenty are compelled to attend during the winter months. The school hours are from eight in the morning until noon. The afternoon is devoted to various kinds of manual training. As there are more than five hundred children under sixteen, the work these willing hands can perform in a few hours is simply enormous. Some are taught gardening, others are instructed in the use of machinery and in the processes of manufacture. That sort of work for which the

child shows a natural aptitude is made his life work, i. e., those ready at figures become book-keepers, while others born to command are made foremen of shops and factories. In these schools are taught the rudimentary branches. German and English are taught an hour each, but the conversation in the school hours is carried on in the former language. Mathematics and penmanship must be taught with great care, for ex-Superintendent Mullen said that "he had never visited a school where all could write so well." The schools are public, not parochial, being supported by the township. Amana township, which the Society owns, is divided into independent districts, with a school house in each village. They levy their own school tax, build their own school houses, and employ their own teachers. The teachers are well educated in English. They attend the County Institute, and are examined by the County Superintendent. The wages paid are thirty dollars per month for twelve months, but as the teachers can not keep the money it is turned over to the Society. This amounts then only to a transfer of figures on the books.

THEIR DOMESTIC LIFE.

The members are simple in their habits, and what they call luxuries we look upon as necessities of life. Their food is wholesome and well prepared. On their tables are found the most excellent bread, the choicest meat, and vegetables of every kind.

Their gardens give evidence of careful cultivation, and are always objects of interest on account of the air of neatness and taste which everywhere prevails in them; the houses are models of cleanliness. There are the massive brown stone houses erected nearly forty years ago; the old frame buildings and the new brick houses, all built on the same plan, and of nearly the same size. There is not a sign of paint on any of the buildings, and this gives to the villages a somber appearance. At Ebenezer they painted their houses, but discovered that it was expensive and did not preserve

the wood long enough to justify the additional cost of a coat of paint every few years. Neither do they insure their property, for the same reason, for the premium would amount to more than the losses by fire. Their factories are not situated closely together, nor are all of them in the same village, consequently there is less danger in case of a fire than in more closely settled towns.

The meeting-houses are long and narrow; within, everything is simple,—no pictures, no golden candle-sticks, no cushioned pews. The long benches are white and seem almost to have been worn out by frequent scrubbing. At such a place of worship one sees no woman trying to outshine her sister, or attract attention by appearing in a bonnet of the latest style; there are no gossipers at the door waiting until the first hymn is over, before they enter; but they quietly take their accustomed places,—the men on the one side, the women on the other; all observing a reverential demeanor throughout the service. They are divided into three classes: 1st, the elders and those who are spiritually minded; 2d, persons of middle age and those less spiritual than the first class; 3d, children and those who have made but little progress in religion. According to this division they are seated; the elders facing the meeting, the children on the first benches, and the second class behind them. The service opens with silent prayer when each one communes with the Creator according to his own needs. It is a solemn silence, during which no one seems to breathe. This is interrupted by one of the elders, who announces a hymn which is sung by the congregation without any instrumental accompaniment. The entire audience sings, full of enthusiasm, the clear voices of the women on the one side harmonizing well with the round full tones of the men. After singing, a chapter is read from the Bible upon which any one who chooses may comment. Afterwards follows the reading of some extract from an Inspired exhortation preserved from the time of the founding of the Society. Another hymn is sung and the meeting is closed. The worship is dignified, solemn and deeply impressive; the

hymns, many of them composed by their own members, breathe a pure and Christian spirit, and the manner in which they are sung captivates the ear by reason of its simplicity. On a Sunday quiet broods over the whole village, and one truly realizes that this is a day of rest. Serenity and peace pervade everything.

Their mode of dress is not one assumed or invented by them, but it is the dress of the German peasant of two hundred years ago, with a few changes which convenience, not fashion, have suggested from time to time. At first glance it seems a little strange, but there is a real charm in it, worn as it is by old and young alike. The clean, white bonnet or black cap is becoming to the women, and modest colors, such as black or blue, seem to give the men a dignified bearing. Formerly they made all their own clothing, but do so no longer, as it can be purchased cheaper than they can make it.

Their religion forbids them to turn away anyone suffering from want, thus tramps take advantage of their benevolence. These fellows lurk around in the woods during the day and come to the village after dark, complaining "that they are without work and have had nothing to eat for several days." Compassion is aroused, and they are well cared for in a house set apart for that purpose. In winter it happens frequently that a number of tramps go from village to village, staying a night at each place, and when the circuit has been made, start again on the same round until they are recognized and driven away.

All titles and formal modes of address are viewed with disapprobation, they address one another as "brother" and "sister," they salute one another upon meeting. Though plain in their manner of speech they are courteous and obliging, and as ready to extend a helping hand to an outsider as to one of their own members. Much is said about the gloomy asceticism of Colony life. One living among them will find nothing of this. They are sober and self-possessed, but they have their innocent amusements like others, and those of a lively disposition seem to be admired

none the less. When passing their laundries and "kitchens" where the women are working, bursts of innocent laughter mingled with melodious song are to be heard; in their mills and factories the men bending over their work seem pleased and contented, often chanting some well known hymn their mothers taught them. There seems to be a sort of spiritual satisfaction upon their faces, and to a stranger they all look alike, so that it is difficult to distinguish one from another. This may be due to the circumstance that for more than a century they have intermarried within the Society, so that now they are all more or less related; add to this the fact that they think and work in the same manner, sharing each other's joys and sorrows as members of one family, and that they have the same quaintness of apparel, and it is easy to see that there would naturally arise a uniformity of type.

For two hundred years they have existed as a religious Society. For nearly fifty years they have practiced Communism and prospered under it. This is the only Community in the United States which from its foundation until the present time can show a continual increase in membership and value of property. The dying embers of enthusiasm which Christian Metz and Barbara Heinemann stirred up have continued to burn on this side of the ocean. It appears that the doctrines of Spener, Gruber and Rock, like many other doctrines, had to be transplanted into new soil in order to bear the best fruit. From the foundation of the Society the members have always been persons of strong morals and unsullied character, who have clung to their faith with the enthusiasm of true believers, and, persuaded of the truth of their doctrines, have been striving to realize a Heavenly Ideal.

APPENDIX A.¹

Constitution und Bei-Gesetze der Wahren Inspirations-Gemeinde, Incorporirt unter dem Namen, „Die Amana Gesellschaft zu Amana,“ im County und Staat Iowa.

Einleitung.

Nachdem die wahre Inspirations-Gemeinde im Jahr 1843 und den folgenden Jahren von Deutschland nach den vereinigten Staaten von Amerika ausgewandert ist, um die edle bürgerliche und religiöse Freiheit dieses Landes zu genießen, und sich in Eben-Ezer, in der County von Erie im Staat New York, auf der frühern Buffalo Creek Indianer Reservation, niedergelassen hatte, wo dieselbe seitdem unter dem Schutze Gottes in Frieden und Segen bestanden ist, so wurde im Jahre 1854, nach dem erkannten Willen Gottes von der Gemeinde einmüthig beschloffen, das Ebenezer Land zu verkaufen, und eine neue Ansiedlung im Westen des Landes zu unternehmen.

Es wurde demgemäß im Jahr 1855, und den folgenden Jahren aus dem gemeinschaftlichen Fond eine Strecke Landes in dem Staat Iowa angekauft, und ein Anfang dieser Uebersiedlung gemacht, in der Absicht, solche nach und nach auszuführen, wie es die Verhältnisse erlauben werden. Weshalb wir, die unterschriebenen Glieder der wahren Inspirations-Gemeinde mit dankbarem Gefühl der Gnade und Güte Gottes, daß wir unter den Gesetzen dieses freien Staates, unsere Incorporation als eine religiöse Gesellschaft erlangen können, uns hiermit unter dem Namen der „Amana Gesellschaft zu Amana.“ im Staate Iowa auf's Neue vereinigten, und die nachfolgende Constitution und Bei-Gesetze einstimmig angenommen haben.

¹ This is an exact copy of the German constitution, and any grammatical or other errors which may be found appear in the original.

Constitution und Bei-Gesetze.

Artikel 1.

Die Grundfeste auch unserer bürgerlichen Verfassung ist und soll bleiben Gott, der Herr, und der von Ihm aus freier Gnade und Barmherzigkeit in uns gewirkte Glaube, welcher sich gründet, 1) auf das geoffenbarte Wort Gottes im alten und neuen Testament: 2) auf das Zeugniß Jesu durch den Geist der Weissagung; 3) auf den verborgenen Zucht- und Gnaden-Geist des Herrn.

Der Zweck unserer Vereinigung, als eine religiöse Gesellschaft, ist also kein irdischer, noch selbstsüchtiger, sondern der Liebeszweck Gottes in Seiner Gnaden-Berufung an uns, Ihm im Bande der Gemeinschaft von innen und aussen, nach seinen Geboten und Anforderungen in unserm Gewissen, zu dienen, und so das Heil unserer Seelen durch die Erlösungs-Gnade Jesu Christi zu schaffen, mit Verleugung unserer selbst im Gehorsam der Wahrheit, und in Erweisung unserer Treue im innern und äußern Dienst der Gemeinde, in der Vermögnungs-Gnade, die Gott darreicht: Und diese Pflicht zu erfüllen, geloben wir einander Alle gegenseitig an durch die Annahme und Unterschrift dieser gegenwärtigen Constitution und Bei-Gesetze.

Artikel 2.

In diesem von Gott unter uns geknüpften Gemeinschafts-Band ist es unser einmüthiger Wille und Beschluß, daß das hier angekaufte und noch anzukaufende Land ein gemeinschaftliches Gut und Eigenthum sein und bleiben soll, mit allen Anlagen und Verbesserungen darauf, so wie auch mit aller Arbeit, Mühe und Last, wovon jedes Glied sein bescheidenes Theil mit Herzenswilligkeit auf sich nehmen soll. Und da wir in Gemäßheit des Staats-Gesetzgebungs-Actes Chapter 131 vom 22. März 1858 unserer Incorporation, als eine religiöse Gesellschaft erlangt haben, so sollen die jetzigen und künftigen Titel zu unserm gemeinschaftlichen Lande an die „Amana Society“ als unserm Corporations-Namen, worunter wir im Gesetz bekannt sind übertragen und ausgestellt werden.

Artikel 3.

Der Ackerbau und die Viehzucht, in Verbindung mit einigen Manufakturen und Gewerben, sollen unter dem Segen Gottes die Nahrungs-Zweige dieser Gesellschaft ausmachen. Von dem Ertrag des Landes und der Geschäfte sollen zuvörderst die gemeinschaftlichen Unkosten der Gesellschaft bestritten werden. Ein allenfälliger Ueberschuß soll von Zeit zu Zeit zur Verbesserung des gemeinschaftlichen Landes, zur Erbauung und Un-

terhaltung von Schul- und Versammlungshäusern, Druckanstalten, zur Unterstützung und Verpflegung der alten, kranken und gebrechlichen Glieder der Gesellschaft, zur Anlage eines Geschäfts- und Sicherheits Fonds, und zu wohlthätigen Zwecken im Allgemeinen verwendet werden.

Artikel 4.

Die Leitung und Verwaltung aller Angelegenheiten dieser Gesellschaft soll in 13 Trustees niedergelegt werden, welche von den stimmberechtigten Gliedern derselben, aus der Zahl der Aeltesten jährlich zu erwählen sind. Die Zeit, der Ort und die Weise, wann, wo und wie alle Wahlen für Beamte der Corporation zu halten sind, so wie auch die Wahlfähigkeit der Glieder sollen durch Nebengesetze bestimmt werden, welche von der Gesellschaft anzunehmen sind. Den so erwählten Trustees ertheilen wir unterschriebene Glieder hiemit alle Vollmacht, Gerechtsame and Privilegen, welche vom Staatsgesetz den Corporationen verliehen sind, so wie auch alle erforderliche Vollmacht und Gewalt im brüderlichen Einfluß nach unserer Heilsordnung oder in einer Stimmenmehrheit alle Geschäfte und Angelegenheiten dieser Gesellschaft zu berathen, anzuordnen und zu leiten; neue Glieder unter dieser Constitution anzunehmen, den Gliedern ihre Arbeit und Beschäftigung anzuweisen; die Unterhaltungsgelder derselben zu bestimmen; solche Glieder, welche unordentlich und widerstrebend sind, und auf mehrmalige Ermahnung sich nicht bessern wollen, auszuschließen, auszuweisen, und zu entfernen; die Abrechnungen mit den freiwillig oder gezwungen ausscheidenden Gliedern nach Recht und Billigkeit zu schließen und zu liquidiren, alles active und passive Vermögen der Gesellschaft zu empfangen und zu verwalten; Buch und Rechnung über alles zu führen, zu kaufen und zu verkaufen; Contracte zu schließen und zu widerrufen; den Ackerbau, die Viehzucht, so wie auch Manufakturen und Gewerbe zu betreiben, Bauten zu errichten, zu verbessern und abzubauen; Inventarien aufzunehmen, Anwälte, Agenten und Aufseher anzustellen, Gelder und Kapitalien zu leihen, zu verleihen und sicher anzulegen, so wie auch Güter, Kapitalien, Zinsen, Effekten, Schuldsforderungen, Erbschaften, Vermächtnisse und Ausstände aller Art im Namen der Gesellschaft oder irgend eines Gliedes davon zu erheben, einzufordern und zu empfangen, Kaufbriefe, Hypotheken, Schuldscheine, Vollmachten, Quittungen und alle andere Documente und Rechnungen zu empfangen, zu vollziehen und zu überliefern, so wie überhaupt im Namen und Nutzen und Besten dieser Gesellschaft alle nöthige, nützliche, gesellschaftliche, geeignete, rechtliche und billige Sachen und Handlungen vorzunehmen und auszuführen.

Es soll indessen die Pflicht der Trustees sein, über Gegenstände von großer Wichtigkeit und Verantwortung eine extra Sitzung zu halten, in

welcher sie entweder durch einmüthigen Beschluß oder durch Stimmenmehrheit zu entscheiden haben, ob die fraglichen Gegenstände allen Aeltesten und sämmtlichen stimmfähigen Gesellschafts-Gliedern zur Berathung und Abstimmung vorgelegt werden sollen, oder nicht.

Zu allen Beschlüssen der Trustees, welche den Verkauf des gemeinthschaftlichen Landes in Town Amana betreffen, ist die Zustimmung von zwei Drittheilen aller Trustees und Gemeinde-Aeltesten, so wie eine Mehrheit der stimmfähigen Gesellschafts-Glieder erforderlich. Das Land außer dem genannten Town gelegen, steht unter der Verwaltung der Trustees zum Verkauf, Tausch und Verrenten, wie sie solches am besten und zum Nutzen der Gesellschaft administriren können.

Sollten durch Austritt, Krankheit oder Todt erledigte Stellen in der Zahl der Trustees entstehen, so können solche Stellen bis zur nächsten jährlichen Wahl von den Trustees selbst aus der übrigen Aeltesten-Zahl ergänzt werden.

Die Trustees sollen jährlich aus ihrer Zahl einen Director, einen Vice-Director und einen Secretair erwählen, und ein Siegel für die Gesellschaft als ihr Corporations-Siegel anschaffen. Alle öffentliche und gesetzliche Urkunden von der Gesellschaft durch einen Beschluß der Trustees, in Uebereinstimmung mit dieser Constitution ausgehend, sollen von dem Director unterzeichnet, von dem Secretair gegengezeichnet, und mit dem Corporations-Siegel der Gesellschaft versehen werden.

Im Monat Juni jedes Jahrs soll von den Trustees den stimmberechtigten Gliedern der Gesellschaft eine vollständige Darstellung des Vermögens-Zustandes derselben gemacht werden.

Artikel 5.

Jedes Glied dieser Gesellschaft ist verpflichtet, sein mobiles und immobiles Vermögen bei seiner Aufnahme, vor der Unterzeichnung dieser Constitution, den Trustees für die gemeinschaftliche Kasse ohne Vorbehalt zu übergeben, und ist dafür zur Gutschrift auf den Büchern der Gesellschaft und zu einer Quittung von den dazu bestimmten Trustees berechtigt, so wie auch durch das gemeinschaftliche Eigenthum der Gesellschaft dafür gesichert.

Artikel 6.

Jedes Glied dieser Gesellschaft ist außer der freien Kost und Wohnung, so wie auch der ihm zugesicherten Verpflegung und Versorgung im Alter, oder in Krankheit und Gebrechlichkeit, zu einer jährlichen Unterhaltungssumme für sich selbst, Kinder und Angehörige in der Gesellschaft aus der

gemeinschaftlichen Gesellschafts-Kasse berechtigt, und dieses Unterhaltungsgeld soll jedem Glied, sei es ledig, einzeln oder familienweise, von den Trustees nach Recht und Billigkeit bestimmt, und von Zeit zu Zeit geprüft und auf's Neue berichtigt werden, nach einem darüber zu haltenden Verzeichniß. Und in Anbetracht dieses Genusses der Segnungen im Gemeinschaftsband verzichten wir unterschriebene Glieder dieser Gesellschaft freiwillig für uns selbst, unsere Kinder, Erben und Administratoren auf alle andre Ansprüche von Lohn, Zinsen von unsern Einschlüssen, Einkommen oder Errungenschaft, so wie überhaupt auf einen vom Ganzen abgetrennten Antheil an dem gemeinschaftlichen Gut und Eigenthum.

Artikel 7.

Alle Kinder und Minderjährige in der Gesellschaft, stehen nach dem Tode ihrer Eltern, oder sonstigen Verwandten als Waisen unter der besondern Pflegschaft der Trustees für die Dauer ihrer Minderjährigkeit. Im Fall solche verstorbene Eltern oder Verwandten ein Guthaben auf den Büchern der Gesellschaft haben, ohne besondere Willensverfügungen oder Testamente zu hinterlassen; oder im Fall dieselbe für erhaltene Vorschüsse an die Gesellschaft schuldig sind, so treten ihre Kinder mit ihrer gesetzlichen Volljährlichkeit, was das solcherweise hinterlassene Vermögen, oder die Verschuldung betrifft, in die Rechte und in die Verbindlichkeit ihrer verstorbenen Eltern oder Verwandten, als deren natürliche und gesetzliche Erben ein; und das Guthaben oder die Schuld der so verstorbenen Glieder wird dann in den Büchern der Gesellschaft auf solche Erben nach eines Jeden rechtmässigen Antheil unter der Anordnung der Trustees übertragen. Solche Hinterlassenschaften von Gesellschafts-Gliedern, welche ohne Willensverfügung und Testament, und ohne gesetzliche Erben zu hinterlassen versterben, sollen der Gesellschaft selbst anheimfallen.

Artikel 8.

Glieder, welche aus der Gesellschaft freiwillig austreten oder ausgewiesen werden, sind zum Zurück-Empfang ihrer Einlagen in die gemeinschaftliche Kasse berechtigt, und, von der Zeit der Abrechnung mit ihnen an gerechnet, zu einer Zinsenvergütung, welche fünf Procent per Jahr nicht übersteigen, und von den Trustees bestimmt werden soll, für solche gemachte Einlagen, bis zu deren Rückzahlung, aber zu keiner andern Vergütung für die der Gesellschaft während ihrer Gliederschaft geleistete Dienste, als solche, welche ihnen von den Trustees derselben bei der Abrechnung mit ihnen freiwillig zuerkannt werden mag. Und indessen die Gesellschaft in den Stand zu setzen, solche Rückzahlungen von Einschlüssen austretender Glie-

ber, so wie auch etwaige Zahlungen von Vermächtnissen und Erbschaften, welche von Personen außer der Gesellschaft beansprucht werden können, ohne Schaden und Bedrückung leisten zu können, so sind wir dahin überein gekommen, daß solche Zahlungen auf folgenden Weise geleistet werden sollen, nämlich, von allen Summen bis zu 500 Dollars ein Viertel bei der Abrechnung oder Feststellung der Forderung, und der Rest innerhalb vier Monaten; von allen Summen von über \$500 bis \$20,000 und darüber, von \$200 bis \$600 bei der Abrechnung, und der Rest in je 3, 4, 6, 9, 12, 15, 18 und 21 gleichen viermonatlichen Terminen im Verhältniß zu dem Betrag der zu zahlenden Summen. Unser Sinn dabei ist, Niemand ohne Noth das Seine vorzuenthalten, aber doch auch für alle Fälle die Gesellschaft gegen Noth und Verlegenheit zu schützen, weshalb den Trustees zustehen soll nach Zeit und Umständen hierin zu handeln, und sich mit den betreffenden Creditoren in solchen Fällen nach Recht und Billigkeit zu verständigen.

Artikel 9.

Verbesserungen und Zusätze zu dieser Constitution können jederzeit von den Gliedern der Gesellschaft den Trustees zur Prüfung und Berathung vorgeschlagen werden, erfordern aber zur Annahme, als ein Theil dieser Constitution, die Zustimmung von zwei Drittheilen der sämmtlichen Trustees, so wie auch der übrigen Gemeindegliedern, und eine Mehrheit der stimmbfähigen Glieder.

Artikel 10.

Diese Constitution soll am ersten Januar A. D. 1860 in Kraft treten, und von allen volljährigen Glieder dieser Gesellschaft beiderlei Geschlechts unterschrieben werden in einem besonders dazu bestimmten und von den Trustees aufzubewahrenden Buche. Ein Exemplar davon soll jedem stimmbfähigen Glied auf Verlangen zur Einsicht behändigt werden.

Gethan in öffentlicher Versammlung, urkundlich unser Unterschriften.

A m a n a , in der County und im Staat Iowa,
im Monat December 1859.

Bei-Gesetze.

Die Wahl betreffend.

Die Wahl soll jährlich am ersten Dienstag im Monat December gehalten werden.

Alle männliche Glieder, die die Constitution unterschrieben haben, so wie auch Wittwen und solche weibliche Glieder, die über dreißig Jahre alt

sind, und nicht durch ein männliches Glied repräsentirt sind, sollen zur Wahl berechtigt sein.

Die Wähler sollen an dem gesagten Wahltag durch Stimmzettel 13 Trustees wählen, für die Zeit eines Jahres, anfangend am ersten Januar jeden Jahres.

Die 13 Trustees sollen am 2. Dienstag im Monat December einen Director, einen Vice-Director und einen Secretair aus ihrer Anzahl erwählen, ebenfalls durch Stimmzettel.

Die Wahl soll in dem Schul- und Versammlungshaus des ersten Schulsubdistrikts des Amana Townships gehalten werden. Jrgend eine Veränderung des Wahlorts oder der Zeit soll den Wählern 14 Tag vor der Wahl mitgetheilt werden.

Die Township Trustees und Clerk sollen die Leiter der Wahl sein.

APPENDIX A.¹

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS OF THE COMMUNITY OF TRUE INSPIRATION, INCORPORATED UNDER THE NAME OF "THE AMANA SOCIETY," IN THE TOWN OF AMANA IN THE COUNTY AND STATE OF IOWA.

PREAMBLE.

Whereas the Community of True Inspiration hath in the year 1843, and the following years emigrated from Germany into the United States of America, for the sake of enjoying the noble civil and religious liberty of this country, and hath settled at Eben-Ezer, in the County of Erie and State of New York, on the Buffalo Creek Indian Reservation, where they have since existed, under the protection of God, in peace and prosperity; and whereas the said Community in the year 1854, according to the known will of God, resolved unanimously, to sell the Eben-Ezer lands, and to undertake a new settlement in the western country, and hath consequently in the year 1855 and the years following, purchased a tract of

¹ The translation of the German text of the Constitution is the authorized one in use in the Community.

land in the State of Iowa, and paid for the same out of the funds of the Community; and whereas since a beginning hath been made of this new settlement, with the purpose to continue and accomplish such resettlement by degrees, as the times and circumstances will permit.

Now therefore, we the undersigned members of the Community of True Inspiration, feeling thankful for the grace and beneficence of God, to be privileged under the liberal laws of this state to an incorporation as a religious Society, do hereby associate ourselves anew under the corporate name of

“THE AMANA SOCIETY,”

in the Town of Amana, and have adopted and do herewith adopt the following Constitution and By-Laws.

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS.

ARTICLE I.

The foundation of our civil organization is and shall remain forever God, the Lord, and the faith, which He worked in us according to His free grace and mercy, and which is founded upon (1) the word of God as revealed in the old and new testament; (2) the testimony of Jesus through the spirit of prophecy; (3) the hidden spirit of grace and chastisement.

The purpose of our association as a religious Society is therefore no worldly or selfish one, but the purpose of the love of God in His vocation of grace received by us, to serve Him in the inward and outward bond of union, according to His laws and His requirements in our own consciences, and thus to work out the salvation of our souls, through the redeeming grace of Jesus Christ, in self-denial, in the obedience of our faith and in the demonstration of our faithfulness in the inward and outward service of the Community by the power of grace, which God presents us with.

And to fulfill this duty we do hereby covenant and promise collectively and each to the other by the acceptance and signing of this present constitution.

ARTICLE II.

In this bond of union tied by God amongst ourselves, it is our unanimous will and resolution, that the land purchased here and that may hereafter be purchased, shall be and remain a common estate and property, with all improvements thereupon and all appurtenances thereto, as also with all the labor, cares, troubles and burdens, of which each member shall bear his allotted share with a willing heart.

And having obtained in pursuance of the act of the legislature of this state, Chapter 131, passed March 28th, 1858, an incorporation as a religious Society, it is hereby agreed on that the present and future titles of our common lands shall be conveyed to and vested in "the Amana Society" in the Town of Amana, as our corporate name by which we are known in law.

ARTICLE III.

Agriculture and the raising of cattle and other domestic animals, in connection with some manufactures and trades shall under the blessing of God form the means of sustenance for this Society. Out of the income of the land and the other branches of industry the common expenses of the Society shall be defrayed.

The surplus, if any, shall from time to time be applied to the improvement of the common estate of the Society, to the building and maintaining of meeting and school houses, printing establishments, to the support and care of the old, sick and infirm members of the Society, to the founding of a business and safety fund, and to benevolent purposes in general.

ARTICLE IV.

The control and management of all the affairs of this Society shall be vested in a board of Trustees consisting of thirteen members, to be annually elected out of the number of elders in the Community, by the members of the Society entitled to vote. The time, place and manner of holding all elections for officers in this corporation and the qualifi-

fications of voters shall be regulated by by-laws to be adopted by the Community.

In the trustees, so elected, we the undersigned members do hereby vest all the powers, rights of action and privileges granted to corporations by the laws of this state, and also all requisite power and authority to arrange, control and manage, in brotherly concurrence according to our order of grace, or by a majority of votes, all the affairs and concerns of this corporation whatsoever; to receive new members under this constitution; to assign to the members their work, labor and employment; to fix the amounts of the yearly allowances for the support of the members; to exclude, order away and remove such members who are unruly and resisting, and who will not mend themselves after repeated admonition; to settle and liquidate the accounts of those members withdrawing from the Society, either by their own choice or by expulsion; to receive and to administrate all the active and passive capital stock and personal estate of the Society; to keep books and accounts of every thing; to buy and to sell; to make, fulfill and revoke contracts, to carry on agriculture, the rearing of cattle, manufactures, mills and trades of any kind, to erect buildings, to improve and take down the same; to make inventories; to appoint attorneys, agents and managers; to borrow, lend and safely invest funds and moneys; also in the corporate name of the Society, or in the name of the trustees, or of any member thereof to ask, demand, levy, recover and receive all kinds of goods, moneys, principal and interest, effects, debts, demands, inheritances and legacies, wheresoever and whatsoever; to receive, execute and deliver all deeds, mortgages, notes, bonds, power of attorney, receipts, discharges, and all other documents and accounts whatsoever; and to do, transact and carry out all needful, beneficial, legal, proper, just and equitable acts, matters and things in general of all and every kind whatsoever, all for and in the name, behalf and benefit of this corporation.

In the event however of matters of great importance and responsibility it shall be the duty of the trustees to hold

special meetings and to decide therein either by unanimous concurrence or by a majority of votes whether or not such matters shall be submitted for counsel and decision by vote to all the elders of the Community and to the members entitled to vote.

All resolutions of the board of trustees relating to the sale of the Society's lands situate within the Town of Amana require the consent of two-thirds of all the trustees and of two-thirds of all the elders in the Community, as also the consent of a majority of the members entitled to vote.

The lands now owned by the Society lying beyond the Town of Amana shall be under the administration of the trustees with power to sell, exchange or rent the same, as they shall find best in the interest of the Society.

Vacancies in the board of trustees occasioned by withdrawal, sickness or death of any of its members, may be filled for the intervening time until the next annual election by the remaining trustees themselves, out of the number of the elders in the Community, not being members elected to the board.

In the month of June in each year the trustees shall exhibit to the voting members of the Society a full statement of the real and personal estate of the Society.

The trustees shall annually elect out of their number one Director, one vice-director and one secretary, and shall procure a seal, which shall be the corporate seal of the Society.

All public and legal documents and instruments emanating from the Society by a resolution of the trustees, in conformity with this constitution, shall be signed by the director, countersigned by the secretary, and the corporate seal of the Society affixed thereto.

On the application of any three members of the board of trustees it shall be the duty of the director to call an extra or special meeting of said board.

ARTICLE V.

Every member of this Society is in duty bound to hand over his or her personal and real property to the trustees

for the common fund, at the time of his or her acceptance as a member, and before the signing of this constitution.

For such payments into the common fund each member is entitled to the credit thereof in the books of the Society and to a receipt signed by the director and secretary of the board of trustees, and is moreover secured for such payments by the pledge of the common property of the Society.

ARTICLE VI.

Every member of this Society is, besides the free board and dwelling, and the support and care secured to him in his old age, sickness and infirmity, further entitled out of the common fund to an annual sum of maintenance for him or herself, children and relations in the Society; and these annual allowances shall be fixed by the trustees for each member single or in families, according to justice and equity, and shall be from time to time revised and fixed anew.

And we, the undersigned members of this corporation in consideration of the enjoyment of these blessings in the bond of our Communion, do hereby release, grant and quit-claim to the said corporation, for ourselves, our children, heirs and administrators all claims for wages and interest of the capital paid into the common fund, also all claims of any part of the income and profits, and of any share in the estate and property of the Society separate from the whole and common stock.

ARTICLE VII.

All children and minors in the Society, after the death of their parents or relations, shall as orphans be under the special guardianship of the trustees of the Society, during the time of their minority. In case of such parents or relations deceased having a credit on the books of the Society, without their leaving a will or testament for the disposition of the same; or in case such parents or relations are indebted to the Society for advances made them, then the children or minors of such parents and relations shall at the time of their

majority, in regard to such credits or debts, enter into the rights and into the liabilities of their deceased parents and relations, as their natural and lawful heirs, and the credits or debts of members so deceased shall then be transferred on the books of the Society to such heirs, according to the proper share of each, under the direction of the trustees. Such personal estates or credits as may be left by members, dying in the Society, without having made any will or testament for the disposition of the same, and without leaving any lawful heirs, shall revert to and vest in said corporation.

ARTICLE VIII.

Such members as may recede from the Society, either by their own choice or by expulsion, shall be entitled to receive back the moneys paid into the common fund, and to interest thereon at the rate not exceeding five per cent. per annum, from the time of the adjustment of their accounts until the repayment of their credits, which rate is to be fixed by the board of trustees.

Such receding members shall however not be entitled to any other allowance for any services rendered to the Society during their membership, but to such, as may be granted them by the board of trustees, on the settlement of their accounts, as a gratuity and not as a legal claim.

To enable however the Society to make such repayments to receding members, as also eventual payments of legacies and inheritances of members deceased in the Society, to relations or heirs thereto entitled beyond the Society, without loss and oppression, it has been agreed on between ourselves, that such payments shall be made in the following manner, viz: of all sums up to \$500, one-fourth part on the adjustment of the claim, and the remainder within four months thereafter; of all sums over \$500 up to \$20,000, and over, the sum of from \$200 to \$600 at the time of settlement, and the remainder in three, four, six, nine, twelve, fifteen, eighteen and twenty-one equal four-monthly installments, in proportion to the amounts to be paid.

Our purpose is not to withhold from any one his due without necessity, but also to secure the Society in all cases against distress and trouble; the authority shall therefore be left with our trustees to act herein according to the times and circumstances, and to effect a compromise with the claimants in question according to justice and equity.

ARTICLE IX.

Amendments to this constitution may at any time be proposed by any member of this Society to the board of trustees for counsel and examination. Any amendments however to be received and accepted as a part of the present constitution, require the consent of two-thirds of the board of trustees, of two-thirds of the remaining elders, and of a majority of the members entitled to vote.

ARTICLE X.

This constitution shall take effect on the first of January, 1860, and shall be signed by all members of lawful age, male and female, in a separate book to be appropriated hereto and to be left in the safe keeping of the board of trustees. A copy of this constitution shall upon request be handed to any voting member of the Society for perusal and reference.

Done in public meeting.

Witness our signatures.

*Amana, in the County and State of Iowa, in the month of
December, A. D. 1859.*

APPENDIX B.¹

ASSESSED VALUATION OF ALL PROPERTY OWNED BY
THE AMANA SOCIETY, IN IOWA COUNTY,
FOR THE YEAR 1890.²

	<i>Number.</i>	<i>Value.</i>
Acres, - - - - -	23,211 ⁸⁸ / ₁₀₀	\$277,440
Horses, - - - - -	273	8,080
Cattle, - - - - -	1,685	11,456
Sheep, - - - - -	3,035	4,570
Swine, - - - - -	825	619
Vehicles, - - - - -	302	2,425
Merchandise, - - - - -		48,365
Capital Employed in Manufactures,		46,375
Moneys and Credits, - - -		14,080
Farming and Mechanics' Tools, Etc.,		975
Other Taxable Property, -		3,068

Grand Total of all Property, - - - \$417,453.

Assessment Amana Society, 1890, - \$417,453.00

Number of Members, 1890, - 1666

Average Assessment, 1890, - - \$250.57+

In order that the average assessment of the members of the Amana Society may be compared (1) with the average assessment of the inhabitants of Iowa, (2) with that of the inhabitants of Iowa county, the following figures taken from the Auditors' reports are appended.

STATE OF IOWA, 1890.

Total Assessment of Iowa, 1890, - \$523,198,984.00

Population of Iowa, 1890, - 1,911,896

State Assessment per capita, 1890, - \$273.65+

¹ Assessments based on 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ per cent of actual value.

² These figures are a transcript from the Auditors' books.

IOWA COUNTY, 1890.

Total Assessment Iowa County, 1890,	\$4,950,830.00
Total Population Iowa County, 1890,	18,261
Assessment in Iowa County per capita	
1890 - - - - -	\$271.11+

IOWA COUNTY, EXCLUSIVE OF AMANA SOCIETY, 1890.

Assessed value Iowa County, 1890, -	\$4,950,830.00
Assessed value Amana Society, 1890,	\$417,453.00
Assessed value Iowa County, less valuation Amana Society, 1890, -	\$4,533,377.00
Population Iowa County, 1890, -	18,261
Population Amana Society, 1890, -	1,666
Population Iowa County, less Amana Society, 1890, - - -	16,595
Assessment Iowa County per capita, less Amana Society, 1890,	\$273.44+

SUMMARY.

Assessment in State per capita, 1890, - -	\$273.65
Assessment in Iowa County per capita, 1890,	271.11
Assessment in Iowa County per capita, leaving out Amana Society, 1890, - - -	273.44+
Assessment Amana Society per capita, 1890,	250.57+

Two inferences may be drawn from the above figures; first, that the assessment in the case of the Amana Society is not high enough; second, that communistic does not pay as well as uncommunistic labor. The authors of this monograph believe that the latter is the true reason for the discrepancy between the averages, and, that on the whole, communistic enterprises fall behind in productiveness.

This last statement may however be modified by the facts that at the present time there are perhaps more than the average number of unproductive members, i. e., those in-

capacitated for labor by age; and that the number of children, who are to a great extent unproductive, approaches five hundred. All these have to be supported by the Society without much return. It is not unlikely that the unproductive members are in excess, at the present time, of the average. If this be the case the assessment of 1890 would hardly be a fair test of the efficiency of communistic labor.

APPENDIX C.

AUTHORITIES CONSULTED IN THE PREPARATION OF THIS ARTICLE.

(The first list may be considered original sources, as the books referred to are found only in the records and libraries of the Society.)

The Constitution of the Society.

Scheuner, Gottlieb—*Inspirations-Historie*, 2 vols., 1884, (vol. III in preparation.)

Published by the Society Each Year—*Jahrbücher der Wahren-Inspirations - Gemeinde, oder Bezeugungen von dem Geiste des Herrn.*

Erster Beitrag zur Fortsetzung der Wahren-Inspirations-Gemeinschaft.

Die XXXVI Sammlung, (Dieses ist die Zweite Fortsetzung von Bruder Johann Friedrich Rock's Reisen und Religiösen Besuchen im Jahr 1714, etc.) 1785.

Metz, Christian—*Historische Beschreibungen der Wahren-Inspirations - Gemeinschaft*, wie sie bestanden und sich fortgepflanzt hat, und was von den wichtigsten Ereignissen noch ausgefunden werden kann, besonders wie sie in den Jahren 1817 und 1818 durch den Geist Gottes in neuen Werkzeugen aufgeweckt worden und was seit der Zeit in und mit dieser Gemeinde und deren herzugekommenen Gliedern Wichtiges vorgefallen.

Petersen, Johann W.—*Werke.*

Kämpf, Johann Philip—Die Unchristlichen Gebräuche von den Kindern Christi unter den Leuten.

Metz, Christian—Sammlung Zwanzig (Jahrbücher, 1817–1845.)

Metz, Christian—Historie der Wahren-Inspirations-Gemeinde. 2d part.

Rock, Johann Fr.—Reise Beschreibungen.

Eine Kurze Beschreibung von Barbara Heinemann wie dieselbe Gottlieb Scheuner von ihr erzählt wurde in ihrem 73ten Lebensjahr.

Lebensgeschichte von Kämpf, Löwe, Gruber und Gleim, 1875.

THE FOLLOWING BOOKS CONTAIN THE CREED OF
THE SOCIETY.

Die Schule der Weisheit, als das Hoch Deutsche A, B, C.

Catechitischer Unterricht von der Lehre des Heils. 1879.

Der Kleine Kempis oder Kurze Sprüche und Gebete. (Selections from the works of Thomas à Kempis.) 1856.

Seelen-Schatz der Gott-Begierigen, etc. 1851.

Stimmen aus Zion, zum Lobe des Allmächtigen im Geist gesungen, von Dr. Johann W. Petersen.

Davidisches Psalter-Spiel der Kinder Zions. (A collection of hymns.) 1871.

Das Liebes- und Gedächtnismahl des Leidens und Sterbens unsers Herrn und Heilandes Jesu Christi. 1859.

Exegetische Reimen-Probe über die Letzte Rede unsers Herrn Jesu Christi an Seine Wahrhaftigen Jünger. E. L. Gruber, 1860.

OTHER WORKS CONSULTED.

Arnoldi—History of Pietism.

Dorner—Church History.

Vaughan, R.—Hours with Mystics.

Moehler, J. A.—Symbolism.

Hurst—Rationalism.

Schaff—Creeds of Christianity.

Giessler—Church History.

Wylie, J. A.—History of Protestantism.

Hosbach, W.—Spener and his Time.

Clark, J. F.—Events and Epochs in Religious History.

Molinos—Guide to Contemplation.

Gerhard, John—Exegetical Explanation of Particular Passages.

Arndt, Johann—True Christianity.

Autobiography of Madam Guyon.

Works and Life of Thomas à Kempis.

Life of Boehme.

Works of Count Zinsendorf.

Articles on the Moravian Brothers.

Hinds, W. A.—American Communism. 1878.

Wolsey—Communism and Socialism. 1880.

Godwin, P.—The Ebenezer Community, published in People's Journal, vol. IV, p. 218.

Owen, Robert D.—The Moral World.

Morse—Communitistic Societies.

Rae, John—Contemporary Socialism.

Noyes, J. H.—History of American Socialism.

Shaw, Albert—Icaria.

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HISTORICAL MONOGRAPH.

No. 2.

HISTORY



OF

THE TRAPPIST ABBEY

OF

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IN DUBUQUE COUNTY, IOWA.

BY

WILLIAM RUFUS PERKINS, A.M.,

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PREFACE.

The history of Mt. Melleray in Ireland, and of New Melleray in Dubuque County, Iowa, is founded upon original sources, viz: the records and manuscripts of the Abbeys and oral communications of the monks.

The editions of Helyot and of Felibien which have been used for the earlier history of the monastic houses are respectively those of 1715-21, and 1671.

The letter of Felibien to the Duchesse de Liancourt, and which constitutes the volume usually known as "*Description de la Trappe*," was first printed in 1671. The edition used by the author is that of 1671, and the volume was originally in the library of the Carmelites at Rennes. This library was probably despoiled at the time of the French Revolution, and the little book, in its original binding, has wandered at last to the prairies of Iowa.

The author desires to express his deep obligation to the authorities of New Melleray Abbey, and in particular to the Rev. Father Superior and to Rev. Father Placid, for courtesy and assistance. Few men engaged in historical researches have met with so cordial and hearty appreciation as has been vouchsafed by the monks of New Melleray to the author. It is impossible for me adequately to express my sense of their kindness and thoughtfulness and hospitality.

I desire especially to thank the Rev. Father Placid for unnumbered kindnesses, and to express here my warm affection for him, an affection which rests not only upon his indefatigable efforts in my behalf as a historian, but which rests also upon my appreciation of him as a high-minded and excellent man.

W. R. P.

Iowa City, July, 1892.

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HISTORY
OF THE
TRAPPIST ABBEY OF NEW MELLERAY
IN
DUBUQUE COUNTY, IOWA.

The ancient Abbey of Nôtre Dame de la Maison-Dieu de la Trappe lies in a secluded valley near the frontiers of Perche in the present department of the Orne. The name is derived from the physical nature of the country which, diversified with hills, discloses at least one valley whose entrance is through a narrow and rocky gorge. This entrance, which to some vivid imagination seemed like a trap-door, gave a name to the village and the adjacent monastery. The following description of the Abbey and its surroundings, published in 1671, will give some idea of the impression which its situation produced in the last part of the seventeenth century.

“This Abbey is situated in a large valley. The woods and the hills which surround it are disposed as if designed to hide it from the rest of the world. They enclose arable lands, plantations of fruit trees, pasture grounds, and nine ponds which encompass the Abbey, and render it so difficult of access that it is very hard to come at it without a guide. There was hitherto a road from Montagne to Paris behind the walls of the garden; but though it was in the wood, and above five hundred paces from the enclosure, and though it was not possible to remove it farther without a vast expense, yet the

Abbot turned it another way, in order to render the place around the Monastery more solitary. And indeed nothing is more so than this desert. For though there are several towns and large villages at three leagues distance round it, yet to people who are there it seems to be a lonely and foreign country. Silence reigns throughout; and if any noise is heard, it is only the rustling of trees shaken by the wind, or the brooks running through the pebbles. This Abbey discovers itself at going out of the forest of Perche, when one is coming from the south; and though the traveler thinks himself very near, he finds it almost a mile before he reaches it. But having at last descended the hill, crossed the heath, and gone on a little way amongst hedges and through shady paths, he comes to the first court, where the receiver's apartment is. It is separated from those of the monks by a strong palisade of pales and thorns which the Abbot caused to be made after he retired thither."¹

Such was the lonely and secluded position of the Abbey of La Trappe in 1671, just before the Peace of Nimeguen made Louis XIV. the arbiter of Europe.

To understand the history of the Trappist Abbey of New Melleray, in Dubuque County, Iowa, we must first become somewhat familiar with the movement which engendered the severe and rigid rule which the Trappists observe, and with the origin both of La Grande Trappe (the mother house), and of Melleray, from which the Abbey of New Melleray is directly descended.

BRIEF SKETCH OF EARLY REFORM.

In about the year 535 of our era, St. Benedict, from the solitude of Monte Cassino gave to the western world the code of religious life which has stamped monasticism for the last thirteen hundred years, and which to-day bears the name of

¹ *Felibien, Description de la Abbaye de la Trappe*, pp. 6, seq. (Paris, 1671.)

the Holy Rule.¹ The splendid monastery upon Monte Cassino is the successor of the simple one, founded upon the ruins of a pagan temple, into which St. Benedict gathered his disciples,² the earliest western monks, and from which he sent out that religious code which is more or less strictly observed to-day in all Benedictine monasteries.

Monastic establishments are subject to fluctuation in spiritual life, and the same law of deterioration which obtains in temporal kingdoms and states seems to reign in those more strictly spiritual. Hence it is not to be wondered at that the Benedictine abbeys and monasteries had departed widely from the ideal of their founder by the end of the tenth century. Though reforms³ were attempted earlier than that which is known as the "Reform of Cluny," this was the most pronounced of the early movements to recover and practice again the Rule of St. Benedict. In the year 910⁴ was built in the Territory of Macon, in France, the monastery to which was given the name of Cluny. The Duke of Aquitaine, its founder, called the pious Bernon, formerly of the monastery of Gignon, to be its first Abbot.⁵ At his death he was succeeded by Odon, who is commonly, though incorrectly, called the founder of Cluny. The order was recognized by Pope Agapet II., in 946. Cluny now became the mother house of many monasteries which followed the more rigid rule established there, and in the twelfth century is said to have had over two thousand affiliated houses in France, Germany, Italy, England, in Spain and in the Orient.⁶ Abbot Odon must

¹ An excellent edition of the Holy Rule, has been edited by a monk of St. Benedict's Abbey, Fort Augustus.

² It is said that one of the two earliest followers of St. Benedict was named Placidus, a name which has always been a favorite monastic one, and is to-day borne by a monk of New Melleray.

³ Notably that of St. Benoit d'Aniane in the eighth and ninth centuries. See *Helyot, Histoire des Ordres Monastiques*, Tom. V., p. 139. (Paris, 1715-21.)

⁴ *Helyot, Ibid.*, p. 186.

⁵ *Helyot, Ibid.*, p. 186. See also, *Ibid.*, p. 184.

⁶ *Helyot, Ibid.*, p. 187.

however be regarded, if not as the absolute founder of Cluny, yet as the great reformer who made Cluny for a hundred years the head and front of monastic establishments upon the continent. The relaxation of morals in the monasteries which made reform desirable may be judged from the following quotation: "Après que ce vénéré Père (Odon) eut senti la nécessité d'astreindre les communautés à l'exacte observation de la Règle, et qu'il eut commencé sa réforme, certains moines, outrés de voir leur Frères laver et graisser eux-mêmes leurs chaussures, s'employer à de vils ouvrages et, soigneux de garder le silence, remplacer au besoin la parole par des signes, firent éclater scandaleusement et mal à propos leur mauvaise humeur et leur colère. 'Misérables s'écriaient-ils, que faites-vous la? Quelle est la loi, quel est l'ordre qui vous oblige à des travaux si bas et si serviles? Où donc, s'il vous plaît, l'Écriture vous prescrit-elle de substituer les mains à la langue? N'est-il pas manifeste que vous faites injure au Créateur lui-même, lorsque, abandonnant l'usage naturel de la voix et de la parole, vous remuez vos doigts comme des insenses?"¹

The Cluniacs themselves became less spiritual, and there succeeded a variety of reforms which made the twelfth century illustrious in the annals of the monastic orders. These reforms, in various parts of France, and at first sporadic, finally crystallized in the great order of Cîteaux, which during the century became, under the leadership of St. Bernard, the most illustrious in Europe, and of which the Trappists are one of the most remarkable and vigorous branches.

CITEAUX.

Among the abbeys probably affiliated to the order of Cluny was that of Molesme, which lay only a little distance from the mother house, in the forest from which it took its name, in the diocese of Langres and Duchy of Burgundy. This house had

¹ *Le Petit et le Grand Exorde de Cîteaux*, p. 56. (Imprimerie de la Grande-Trappe, 1884.)

been dedicated in the year 1075.¹ This monastery under the guidance of Robert carried out to the letter the rule of St. Benedict. The monastery soon became rich and with riches came a natural relaxation and degeneracy. This led directly to the founding of Citeaux, for Abbot Robert finding a large number of the monks opposed to his strictness, and being unwilling to coerce them, determined to lead out to a new foundation those who were more spiritually minded and who, with him, wished to follow closely the original constitution of St. Benedict.

Early then in the year 1098, a little band of Benedictine monks, twenty-one in number, including the Abbot, Prior and Sub-Prior, were seen winding from the abbey gateway of Molesme.² Such was the beginning of that reform which resulted in the establishment of the great order of the Cistercians. This was one of those sporadic movements towards reform of which I have spoken, but one which was to result in great and organized action, the others being merely tentative. It is a general principle that efforts to a great end may manifest themselves in many ways, but that in the supreme struggle even the slightest effort may become of world-wide importance. The struggle for a return to the primeval rule had manifested itself in the establishment of the other orders, it was to conquer in the seemingly insignificant progress of twenty-one monks from the gateway of Molesme, in the year 1098.

They journeyed on until they arrived at the forest of Citeaux in the diocese of Chalons.

This lonely and desolate place seemed well fitted for monastic seclusion, and here the new abbey was inaugurated and Robert received the pastoral staff from the hands of the Bishop of Chalons. It is important to observe that from the beginning Cistercian monasteries were exempted from episco-

¹ *A Concise History of the Cistercian Order*, p. 54. By a Cistercian Monk. (London, 1852.)

² *Ibid.*, p. 43.

pal jurisdiction,¹ and this independence was confirmed by successive bulls of the Pontiffs.² The first bull is dated the 27th of April, 1100, and was issued by Paschal II.³

Several important changes mark the establishment of this Order—changes which greatly affected the monastic discipline.

First. The regulation of the diet. All dishes which opposed the purity of the rule as the early monks had interpreted it were banished from the refectory. From the fourteenth of September until Easter they partook of a single meal—that which St. Benedict permitted—and it consisted of a pound of the convent bread and two sorts of vegetables. This meal was taken in the afternoon, after rising at two in the morning and spending the most of the day in agricultural labors. During the rest of the year a similar meal was permitted in the evening, consisting of one-third of a pound of bread and of vegetables.

Second. They interpreted the following extract from the sixty-sixth chapter of St. Benedict's Rule much more rigidly than had been the custom:

“The monastery ought, if possible, to be so constituted that all things necessary, such as water, a mill, a garden, and the various workshops may be contained within it; so that there may be no need for the monks to go abroad.”⁴

The interpretation given to this at Cîteaux precluded the possession of large estates which they did not cultivate themselves, but let out to tenants. It involved hard manual labor upon the part of the monks, but, as the community was frequently too small to permit the cultivation of their property by their own hands, how was the observance of the rule to be assured? The answer to this serious question was found in the institution of lay brethren. This, though it existed in

¹ *Privilèges de l'Ordre de Cîteaux.* (Paris 1713).

² *Ibid.*

³ *A Concise History of the Cistercian Order*, p. 66.

⁴ *The Rule of St. Benedict*, pp. 194-5. (Burns & Oates. London, 1886.)

the Benedictine Order, took a definite and systematic shape at the beginning of the Cistercian Order. The monks labored in the close neighborhood of the monastery, the lay brethren were permitted to dwell on the lonely farms around it, and became the tailors, shoemakers and blacksmiths of the community. But although the lay brethren were usually, though not always, of the more ignorant class they were treated with the greatest consideration, and by a special law of the Order, partook of all spiritual advantages. Indeed they made their vows in the presence of the Abbot and were monks in all but name. It is evident that in a rude age when distinctions in rank were so great and almost impassable, this institution of lay-brethren ennobled the cultivator of the soil and placed the nobleman and the peasant on the same level. Manual labor, therefore, and the institution of lay-brethren constituted an important part of the reforms of Cîteaux.

Third. As regards the dress. The color of the dress or the greater part of it was changed. For dark brown was substituted white in all the garments except the scapular, which remained dark as before. It is difficult to discover the true reasons for the change, but the following one is often given, *i. e.*, that as all Cistercian monasteries are specially dedicated to the Virgin, so the white garments are symbolical of her purity. A second reason sometimes given is that the dress of the peasants of the country was made of a coarse gray cloth, and so they supposed this to be marked out for them by the rule. The former of the two reasons seems the more likely, but, however that may be, the Order has adopted the white dress with the exception of the scapular. It is supposed that this was left dark to remind the wearers and the world that they were not only monks of Cîteaux, but children of St. Benedict.

Fourth. The rule of silence. The Rule of St. Benedict speaks as follows: "On account of the importance of silence let leave to speak be seldom granted even to perfect disciples, although their conversation be good and holy and tending to

edification.”¹ “The greatest silence must be kept at table so that no whispering may be heard there, or any voice except that of him who readeth, and whatever is necessary for food and drink let the brethren so minister to each other that no one need to ask for anything, but should anything be wanted, let it be asked for by a sign rather than by the voice.”² “Everyone, then, being assembled, let them say Compline, and when that is finished, let none be allowed to speak to any one, and if any one be found to evade this rule of silence, let him be subjected to severe punishment; unless the presence of guests should make it necessary, or the Abbot should chance to give any command.”³

These, which are but three of the seven directions concerning silence, are sufficient to indicate the purpose of St. Benedict. Abbot Alberic, and notably Abbot Stephen, the second and third Superiors of Cîteaux, impressed upon their Religious the necessity of conforming in this respect to the manifest intentions of St. Benedict, and silence became a distinctive mark of the Order. “The practice of silence sanctifies the whole Cistercian Order.”⁴

A change in the color of the dress, the custom of menial and manual labor and the consequent development of the system of lay brethren, the rule of silence, and the restriction of the diet are the principal characteristics of the reform of Cîteaux, and as these are all special marks of the development of the Cistercian Trappists it has been thought best to emphasize them as distinctive early marks of reform. The observances of the monks of Cîteaux were ascetic in the extreme. Early rising, silence, fasting—all these were carried by Abbot Alberic, the second Abbot, to an extreme which

¹ *The Rule of St. Benedict*, pp. 43-5.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 117-8.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 127-18.

⁴ *De Rancé. A Treatise on the Sanctity and the Duties of the Monastic State.* Translated into English by a Religious of the Abbey of Melleray-La Trappe. Vol. II., p. 115. (Richard Grace, Dublin, 1830.) The copy consulted is from library of Mt. Melleray, Ireland.

overshadows the rigidity and austerity of the Trappists of to-day, and the changes which have been noted above were formulated by him into ordinances, with the approbation of Rome, the Order having been, as has been mentioned, authorized in 1100.¹

The establishment of Clairvaux by St. Bernard,² who led out a contingent from Cîteaux, and the swift and brilliant development of the Order are too well known to require any special notice, and we pass to a brief notice of the other Orders with which La Trappe was at first affiliated.

FONTREVAULT. SAVIGNI.

Before St. Bernard's time there were "other Prophets in Israel." The earliest of these reformers was Robert d'Abisel, who first led the life of an Anchorite in Anjou. He had many followers, but was obliged to leave them to preach the Crusade by the order of Pope Urban II. Later, in the year 1099, he retired to a place upon the confines of Anjou and Poitou called *Fontrevault*, and began the building of those cells or cabins which finally became the monastery of Fontrevault, and the Order was recognized by Pope Paschal II., in the year 1106. The founder of Fontrevault found it necessary to detach from his original following a number of his disciples, and they were sent forth under the control of three of his most trusted monks to different places in France. The one which concerns the Trappist Order was the colony led out by Vital de Mortain into Normandy, where was founded in the year 1112 the Abbey of Savigni. This abbey took its name from a forest into which Vital had led some of his followers as early as 1105. The first monastic home of the Order of Savigni was simply the ruins of an old chateau belonging to Raoul de Fougères, who kindly granted it to the homeless monks. This act of donation was confirmed by Henry I. of England, and later in the same year by Pope Paschal II. Vital gave to the monks of his monastery the

¹ *Supra*, p 6.

² *Ratisbonne, Life of St. Bernard.* (1886.)

Rule of St. Benedict, and added some particular constitutions. The number of monks increased greatly and Savigni became one of the most celebrated monasteries of France.¹ Not only was Savigni itself illustrious, but many abbeys and monasteries followed its rule and became dependent upon it. Amongst others was the Abbey of La Trappe.

Thus upon both sides of France, in Burgundy and in Normandy, Anjou and Perche, was displayed the same spirit of reform. But while Fontrevault and Savigni never became so illustrious as Cîteaux, there was affiliated to them, and later to Cîteaux, the monastery of La Grande Trappe, the ancestress of New Melleray and to-day the mother house of the Trappists.

THE ABBEY OF LA GRANDE TRAPPE.

It must not be supposed that the abbey which has become famous as the mother house of the Trappists was synchronous in foundation with that strict branch of the Cistercians to which it has given a name, in this case the monastery christened the Order; not the Order the monastery.

In the year 1122² Rotrou, Count of Perche, founded an abbey which he called "L'Abbaye de Nôtre-Dame de la Maison-Dieu de la Trappe." The church was consecrated by Robert the Archbishop of Rouen, assisted by Raoul the Bishop of Evreux and Silvestre the Bishop of Séez,³ in the time of the fifth abbot, William, in the year 1280. The abbey at its foundation in 1122 was affiliated with the order of Fontrevault,⁴ which was recognized by Pope Paschal II. in 1106, and received a still further recognition in a bull of the same Pope seven years later. In the abbey of Fontre-

¹ *Helyot, Histoire des Ordres Monastiques.* Tom. VI., p. 110.

² *Felibien, Description de l'Abbaye de la Trappe*, pp. 10 et seq. (Paris, 1671.) The date given by Felibien is 1140, which is incorrect, although it is repeated in Helyot, who relied on Felibien. The accepted date among the Trappists is 1122.

³ *Helyot, Ibid.*, p. 1.

⁴ *Edouard, Fontrevault et ses Monuments, etc.* (1875.)

vault, though now fallen to ruin, may still be seen the effigies of Henry II. and Richard I. of England, and until the time of the French Revolution the French princesses were accustomed to be sent thither for their education. To this Order, illustrious even then, the new Abbey of La Trappe was first affiliated, but in the year 1148, under the guidance of the fourth abbot, it had become Cistercian, and through the efforts of St. Bernard himself became one of the many monasteries closely connected with Cîteaux.

At this time the Cistercian Order, which originated in the reform of Cîteaux (Cistercium), had risen to great splendor under the guidance of St. Bernard, and attracted to itself and to St. Bernard's Abbey of Clairvaux, rendered so illustrious by its founder, the greater part of those monasteries which with the decadence of the Benedictines felt the need of a newer spiritual life. The affiliation then of the Abbey of La Trappe, and its reduction beneath the rule of Cîteaux, was only a single instance of a movement which became almost universal through France and through Europe, and which in turn manifested the same decadence which had led to its inception.

The surrounding country is rich in historical association. Close at hand is Bellême from whose ancient castle the family of Robert so famous in the annals of England and of Normandy derived its name. This uneasy baron was engaged in a serious controversy with Rotrou, Count of Perche, presumably the same who founded the abbey, in 1122. The fact that there was war between Robert and Rotrou is not strange, for the former, surnamed *Le Diable*, was usually at war with his neighbors, but it is rather curious that his antagonist in this instance, Rotrou, should have immortalized his name by the foundation of La Trappe, while Robert remains a type of the worst features of feudalism. At the present day the "site of the true castle of Bellême may easily be distinguished from the present fortress."¹ It "stands quite apart from the

¹ *Freeman, The Reign of William Rufus*, Vol. I., p. 218, note.

hill on which the town and the later castle stand, being cut off from it by art. The chapel is but little altered, and has a crypt, the way down to which reminds one of Saint Zeno and other Italian churches.”¹

Close at hand is Fontevault, already referred to, and, just across the frontier in Maine and in Normandy, every rood of ground brings up recollections of the days when Robert of Bellême defied the power of the Norman Dukes, or when Helias, the “blameless Knight” of Maine fought bravely, though vainly, against the mighty masters of England and of Normandy. In their old age and calmer days the barons of that time were wont to lull their consciences by the foundation and endowment of some religious house, and it is probable that Rotrou in his declining years thought to make the establishment of La Trappe the condoning good deed of his life.² In the midst then of a country which bears even to-day upon its face the scars of the contests engendered by feudalism in the eleventh and twelfth centuries and at an era when private war was the key-note of the age, arose the walls and gardens which afterwards beheld the inception and the development of the strictest order of western monasticism, and which have handed on a name which is synonymous with the most profoundly self-denying of all monastic names, that of La Trappe.

The history of the Abbey from 1240 to 1662 is not unlike that of many others. For many years it was celebrated for the eminent virtue of its abbots and its monks. In particular were the miracles and the holiness of Adam, one of its earliest abbots renowned, and for two hundred years after its foundation it was so esteemed by princes and by popes that four or five bulls of the Pontiffs are to be found, addressed to the monks of La Trappe, confirming and approving the privi-

¹ *Freeman, The Reign of William Rufus*, Vol. I.

² Rotrou is said to have founded La Trappe in thanksgiving for his preservation from shipwreck in a voyage between Normandy and England. The roof of the monastery was shaped like an inverted keel. *Concise History of the Cistercian Order*, p. 142.

leges conferred by their predecessor.¹ Like many other houses of the Cistercians, following the melancholy course which seems to be characteristic of all religious orders, the monks of La Trappe at last abandoned their traditions, and neglected the regular observance of the stricter rule which had been established by St. Bernard. In addition to the general causes for the decadence of monastic authority, some special ones existed in France, and these undoubtedly affected the house of La Trappe. In the fourteenth century the power of the church had been dealt a serious blow by the exile of the Popes to Avignon. This, in whatever manner it may have acted generally upon the European estimate of their authority, had little effect in France, save in exalting the Gallican church in its own esteem, and, by a nearer acquaintance with Avignon and its rulers, lowering the ideal of Papal holiness. But another factor was much more potent than the "Babylonian Captivity" in ministering to the decay of monastic purity in France. This was the "One Hundred Years' War." Placed upon the borderland between what was France and what, though French, was ruled by Englishmen, flung into the midst of contests in which they had no interested part, save as liege subjects of their own monarch, the monks of La Trappe insensibly became partisan. Perche is near enough to Paris and near enough to Normandy to have been long in dispute between the two rival powers, and the noise made by Tours and Poitiers penetrated even to the quiet of the cloister. The abbey was sacked again and again by the English. From the major part of the border monasteries religion fled, and attempted to find refuge in those parts of France which were farther removed from the ravages of war, but the monks of La Trappe did not wish to quit their solitude, and by fasting and daily labor were able to subsist, though meagrely. At length, however, the frequent returns of the English plunderers, who repeatedly relieved them of whatever they had amassed in the brief intervals of peace,

¹ *Helyot, Histoire des Ordres Monastiques.* Tom. VI., p. 2.

constrained them to separate, and they did not return until the war was finished.¹ Absence from the monastery and its restraints, and the corruption of the world into which they had been forced, had produced a total change in their views of the religious life, and in their views of the rigid rule of Cîteaux. At their return, therefore, it is not astonishing to learn they displayed a quite different mental and moral attitude from that which had characterized them in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

To the general degradation of religious houses there had then contributed the causes above mentioned, and a still severer blow was administered by a system which was recognized by both Pontiff and King.

This was the system of *Commendam*. Broadly speaking, a living given in Commendam was one entrusted to the care of the holder until a proper person was supplied. In the special case of monastic establishments it consisted in the appointment of seculars to the headship (or other official position) of Orders to which the incumbent did not belong, and to whose rules and requirements, whether of mode of life or of dress, he was under no obligation to conform. It is perfectly evident that this custom, which may have been founded in necessity or wisdom, and was intended to supply for the interim places which could not on the instant of their vacancy be filled with proper incumbents, was liable to grave abuses. The ecclesiastical history of the reigns of Henry III. and Edward III., of England, abundantly illustrates this, and in France the custom became still more degraded from its original intent, inasmuch as the monarchs were wont to fill these vacancies without much reference to Rome. La Trappe long held out against the imposition of an abbot not elected by the members of the abbey establishment, but in the year 1526, Francis I. commanded the monks to receive Jean du Bellai as Abbé Commendataire. The execution of this edict the monks resisted and for a number of years continued to elect, as was

¹ *Helyot, Histoire des Ordres Monastiques.* Tom. VI., p. 2.

their privilege, their own abbots, while the papal curia attempted to uphold them in their contest for independence.¹ But finally they were compelled to yield to the King and to accept Jean du Bellai (afterwards Cardinal) as their Abbot in Commendam. At once the sad effect of the system was manifest in La Trappe. As there was no resident Abbot the monks did as they pleased, and soon became the scandal of the surrounding country.²

Temporal ruin followed swiftly upon the decadence of spiritual life. The abbey itself fell into such decay that only six or seven monks could be lodged therein, and it became the abiding-place of the servitors and of their families only. The community life had disappeared, and the members of it met only for the chase or other diversions.³ Such was the unhappy condition of La Trappe in the middle of the seventeenth century.

THE REVIVAL AND DE RANCÉ.

The reformation of La Trappe, and the introduction into this abbey of the rigid observances known to this day as Trappist, were due to the efforts of Armand Jean le Bouthillier de Rancé, Abbé in Commendam. To rightly understand how an abbot appointed in accordance with the pernicious system of Commendam could have accomplished so astonishing a work, it will be necessary to trace the history of his life in some detail.

According to Helyot,⁴ the reforming abbot was the son of Denis le Bouthillier, Seigneur de Rancé, Secretary of "Commendams" under the regency of Marie de Medicis, and a counsellor of State, thus occupying a position of dignity and influence. Armand Jean was born in 1626, and, as a second son, was destined to enter the semi-religious order of the

¹ *Helyot, Histoire des Ordres Monastiques.* Tom. VI., p. 3.

² *Helyot, Ibid.*

³ *Helyot, Ibid.*

⁴ *Helyot, Ibid.*

Knights of Malta. The death of his older brother changed his fortunes so that instead of becoming a monk militant, all the benefices in commendam which had been conferred upon and intended for his brother were transferred to him. The position of his father rendered it easy to provide for his future, and he became, while still a child, a Canon of Nôtre Dame de Paris, Abbé de la Trappe, Abbé de Nôtre Dame du Val and of St. Symphorian of Beauvais and Prior of Boulogne, near Chambord.¹ These and other titular dignities were conferred upon him before he was more than twelve years old, and from these he derived (even at that age) a revenue of about twenty thousand francs.

The change in his worldly prospects did not cause De Rancé to neglect his studies. His father had already carefully provided him with tutors in the Italian and Greek languages, and his destiny to the ecclesiastical state seemed rather an incentive to toil. At the age of twelve years² he is said to have given to the world a new edition of the poems of Anacreon accompanied by a commentary. This work was greatly admired by the scholars of the day, and was soon followed by a French translation of the poet. This instance of precocity, though unusual, is not exactly alone in history, and we are compelled to believe that at twelve or thirteen years of age De Rancé was already an accomplished Greek scholar and a not insignificant critic. Modern scepticism may hesitate to accept evidence of such early distinction in learning, but the life of De Rancé testifies to his remarkable power of mind and will, and the testimony upon which this statement rests is not easily to be controverted, and is generally accepted. He studied theology after having completed his course in the College d'Harcourt, and at the age of twenty-one received his licentiate's degree. Launched therefore upon the world with every favor of fortune, De Rancé's course for some years was only what might have been

¹ *Helyot, Histoire des Ordres Monastiques.* Tom. VI., p. 4.

² *Helyot, Ibid.*

expected in that age. His manners were agreeable, he was the favorite of society, his ecclesiastical state sat upon him with the same grace and elegance which characterized the fashion of his dress,¹ and he became the idol of the world in which he lived and of which he was one of the most brilliant ornaments. Amid all the license of the time he preserved a comparative purity, and, although he mingled amid the gayest circles, was by no means one of the profligate Abbés in Commendam with which the age was afflicted. Nevertheless his life was not such as we associate to-day with the term *priest*, yet this did not prevent him from receiving holy orders at the hands of his uncle the Archbishop of Tours² in the year 1651, and the ring and bonnet of Doctor were conferred three years later.

About this time De Rancé was staying with several friends at his chateau of Veret, and the gaiety of his disposition may be illustrated by the story which is told, that, after a night of festivity, they all determined to embark upon a life of adventure in foreign countries, to travel forth by land and sea, and go wherever the "wind should carry them." This Quixotic scheme was not accomplished, but is not uninteresting as indicating the manners of the age, and the freedom which was felt by "Abbés in Commendam."³ His life then up to the

¹ *Chateaubriand. Vie de Rancé.*

"He wore a light coat of beautiful violet-colored cloth. His hair hung in long curls down his back and shoulders. He wore two emeralds at the joining of his ruffles, and a large and rich diamond ring upon his finger. When indulging the pleasures of the chase in the country, he usually laid aside every mark of his profession; wore a sword, and had two pistols in his holsters. His dress was fawn-colored, and he used to wear a black cravat embroidered with gold. In the more serious society which he was sometimes forced to meet, he thought himself very clerical indeed, when he put on a black velvet coat with buttons of gold."

(These details may be found in Chateaubriand's "Life of De Rancé," and also in a review of the same in the Dublin Review, December, 1844. In fact for a great number of details necessarily omitted in this monograph the same work may be consulted with advantage, especially as to the mode of life of Veret or Veretz, but Chateaubriand is not a reliable authority.)

² *Helyot, Histoire des Ordres Monastiques.* Tom. VI., p. 4.

³ *Helyot Ibid.*, p. 5.

age of thirty-four was that of the gay man of society, whose natural inclinations forbade indulgence of the grossest appetites, but who regulated his life in accordance with the spirit of the earlier years of the reign of Louis XIV. Suddenly this man of the great world became disillusionized, and retired from the gaieties of court to the seclusion of La Trappe. Several causes are said to have contributed to this result. One was the death of his cousin, Leon de Bouthillier de Chavigni, a man to whom he was passionately attached; a second was own narrow escape from death; a third was his natural disappointment at the reception by the court of his famous argument in behalf of the Jansenists. The latter debate, which well offered De Rancé an opportunity for showing his natural bent of mind, was held at the command of the King in the year 1655. At this general assembly of the French Clergy, convoked to discuss the Jansenist controversy, De Rancé was a delegate from the diocese of Tours. Though De Rancé's views changed afterwards so that he opposed the tenets of this school, nevertheless at this time he formed one of the minority of the Doctors of the Sorbonne who voted in favor of Arnauld, the Jansenist leader. Disappointed in the view taken of his position by the court he retired to Veret before the assembly dispersed. A story is told of the sudden death (her illness being unknown to him) of Madame de Montbazon, with whom he was intimate, and of the shock which was occasioned him by discovering her body decapitated, for the coffin was too short, and it has been supposed, even by Voltaire, that this had a decided effect in shaping his future life. This story is denied by others, and the *juste milieu* seems to be that the concurrence of these two events—*i. e.*, the death of Madam de Montbazon, and De Rancé's retirement from the world—occasioned the legend.¹ If this story be true, it is easily to be believed that an event

¹ See, in support of this story, Voltaire and La Harpe, and in contradiction of it St. Simon. It is totally denied by Maupeou, who was the first to write a biography of De Rancé. Helyot does not mention it in his chapter upon La Trappe, but the omission in his case is perhaps natural.

of such a nature would seemingly affect the course of life of a man so sensitive as De Rancé was. But the reasons first mentioned were doubtless the determining ones.¹ At any rate, in about 1660, just after the death of the Duke of Orleans, whose almoner he was, he made up his mind to lay down at least part of his benefices. But he consulted in regard to this serious step several of his friends of high position in the hierarchy of the church. They were the Bishops of Aleth, of Pamiers, of Châlons and of Comminges.² The counsel of the Bishop of Aleth was the least severe. "Sell," said he, "your patrimony and distribute the price of it to the poor," but he permitted him to retain his benefices. But even this seemed to De Rancé an excessive self-abnegation. He replied that his family would not permit it, but he listened with respect to the reasons of the prelate. The Bishop of Pamiers went even further, and advised him not only to sell his patrimony, but to lay down his benefices with the exception of one. This dictum was extremely distasteful to De Rancé, who argued that he could not live upon one benefice in a way befitting his condition in life. He therefore consulted at last the Bishop of Comminges, who speaking with the voice of a prelate of the early times, confirmed the advice of the Bishops of Aleth and Pamiers, and in addition avowed his belief that De Rancé should take the monastic habit and rule the monastery which he was still to hold, for, said he, "Abbeys in Commendam are contrary to the spirit of the church."³ Thus De Rancé found himself on every side advised to purge himself of the sin of which he had unwittingly been guilty, and give the rest of his life as a penitential offering for his past.

This advice, coming as it did, from prelates whose opinion he respected, increased the compunctions of his conscience,

¹ Another reason, perhaps more important than any of those enumerated, may have had more weight, viz., the conviction, gradually growing upon him, of a true vocation for the monastic state.

² *Helyot, Histoire des Ordres Monastiques.* Tom. VI., p. 6.

³ *History of the Cistercian Order*, pp. 140-1.

and the effect of the two combined was, that he sold his patrimony and resigned all his benefices except that of La Trappe, this being the poorest, the most unhealthy, and the least known. The ruinous condition of La Trappe has been before referred to. "There are in existence," says Count Chateaubriand, "formal reports in writing of the lamentable condition of this monastery. That which bears the date of 1685, signed by Dominic, Abbot of Val-Richer, describes the state it was in before the reform of De Rancé. Day and night the gates were open; males and females were admitted indiscriminately to the cloister. The entrance hall was so dark and filthy that it was more like a prison than a house dedicated to God. Access was had to the several floors by a ladder placed against the walls, and the boards and joists of the floor were broken and worm-eaten in many places. The roof of the cloister had fallen in so that the least shower of rain deluged the place with water. The very pillars that supported it were bent, and as for the parlor, it had for some time been used as a stable. The refectory was such only in name. The monks and their visitors played at nine-pins or shuttlecock in it when the heat or inclemency of the weather prevented them from doing so outside. The dormitory was utterly deserted; it was tenanted at night only by birds; and the hail and the snow, the wind and the rain, passed in and out as they pleased. The brothers who should have occupied it, took up their quarters where they liked, and where they could. The church itself was not better attended to. The pavement was broken, and the stones thrown about. The very walls were crumbling to decay. The belfry threatened to come down every moment. It shook alarmingly at every ringing of the bell. When De Rancé set about reforming the monastery, it was but the ruin of a monastic establishment. The monks had dwindled down to seven. Even these were spoiled by alternations of want and plenty. When De Rancé first began to talk of reform the whole establishment was in commotion. Nothing was heard but threats of vengeance. One spoke of assassinating him, another advised

poison, while a third thought the best and safest way of getting rid of him would be to throw him into one of the lakes that surrounded the monastery.”¹

These menaces did not terrify De Rancé. Monks of the stricter observance were introduced into the monastery, and the seven of the older fight were obliged to sign an agreement in 1662 which was confirmed by the Parliament of Paris in February of the following year. In accordance with this agreement they were permitted to remain in the monastery and conform to the new rules, or to take up their residence elsewhere, and a pension of four hundred francs was assigned to them in either case.² The monks did not accept these conditions willingly, but threats of the anger of the King prevailed, and at length De Rancé found himself the master of the Abbey of La Trappe.

But the evil which had sprung from the system of “Commendam” had not yet been repaired, and De Rancé beholding in himself the sacrifice which was required for the sins of which his family and himself had been guilty, in the many years that they had figured among the hosts of Abbots in Commendam, retired, in 1663, into the convent of Persigny, there to pass his novitiate. His profession was made in 1664,³ and the abbatial benediction was pronounced in Sééz, in the monastery of St. Martin, by the Bishop of Ardah⁴ in Ireland. Thus from being an Abbot in Commendam De Rancé became a Cistercian monk and Abbot in possession, and in formal terms, of La Trappe. Henceforth the brilliant man of the world, the gay and elegant Seigneur de Rancé, Lord of Veret and holder of a plurality of benefices, becomes Armand John, the regular Abbot of La Trappe; and, with this change the Abbot entered upon the strictest regimen of

¹ Chateaubriand. *Vie de Rancé*. See also Helyot, *History des Ordres Monastiques*. Tom. VI., p. 7.

² Helyot, *Ibid*.

³ Felibien, *Description de la Trappe*, pp. 18-19. Helyot, *Ibid*, p. 7.

⁴ Felibien, *Ibid*, p. 20.

the old monks of Cîteaux. His fasts were so continual and so austere, that it is hard to understand how he could have endured them and yet survived. Every day he engaged in humble, even in manual labors, from which he returned exhausted. He was always the first at the Office, at prayer and at all regular exercises of the Abbey. He ordered nothing in the doing of which he did not set the example, and do himself what he prescribed to the rest. Such an example could not but induce like abstinence, and like self-denial in the monks, and the austerities of the Abbey became famous. The reforms then which were introduced by De Rancé may be summarized as follows:

1. Abstinence.
2. Perpetual Silence.
3. Manual Labor.

These regulations were not new, but they had fallen into abeyance. They are all contained in the Rule of St. Benedict, and in spasmodic activity had appeared in many ages and in many monasteries. The glory of De Rancé¹ is that the power of his personality and the excess of his zeal made them the distinctive characteristics of the monks of his own abbey, and that the same power stamped them upon others. His rules were not so extreme² as those of Cîteaux at its earlier beginnings, they were somewhat tempered to the necessities of his age and the comparatively less physical endurance possessed by the religious of that day, but they were the most enduring of any reforms instituted in the seventeenth century and from that time to this have remained comparatively unchanged. The reasons which justified De Rancé to himself in restoring the close observance of Cîteaux may be read in his own works,³ and certain extracts will be found hereafter quoted in this monograph.⁴

¹ *Appendix IV.*

² *Appendix III.*

³ *De Rancé, A Treatise on the Sanctity and on the Duties of the Monastic State.* 2 vols. Richard Grace. (Dublin, 1830.)

⁴ *Appendix IV.*

The later history of the Abbey of La Trappe can be quickly told.

For nearly a century after De Rancé's death (1700), La Trappe continued in strict observance of the reformed rule established by him. In the year 1791 two commissioners from the administrative assembly of the department of the Orne presented themselves to Abbot Peter Olivier and enquired why the Abbey had not been suppressed in accordance with the decree of the constituent assembly as regards the religious order in France. Although the inquisitors themselves examined the monks of whom there were fifty-three choir religious and thirty-seven lay brethren, and pronounced them men of strong and decided character whose thoughts were absorbed by religion, the Executive of the Department forbade the further existence of the Abbey as such, and it was suppressed by the Assembly. The confiscation of La Trappe immediately upon the decree of the Assembly in 1790 had been postponed in view of numberless petitions in its favor, but now the blow fell, the monks were scattered, a contingent of them went to Switzerland,¹ the rest dispersed, the buildings of the monastery were thrown down and the fields were left uncultivated.

In 1815, after the final defeat of Napoleon, La Trappe was repurchased by the Abbot, new buildings were erected, and from that time to this it has continued to be the Mother House of the Order. "Nothing, however, exists of the La Trappe of De Rancé save the cincture of forest trees and the hills which surround the monastery; the pools which stretch their sheet of water into the forests of Perche; the abbatial lodge built by De Rancé, and a few fragments of walls."²

VALSAINTE, LULLWORTH.

In the canton of Fribourg, in Switzerland, exists a valley deep hidden among the mountains, and buried amid great

¹ The history of these will be found under the heading "VALSAINTE, LULLWORTH," p. 23.

² *A Concise History of the Cistercian Order*, p. 175.

forests and masses of overhanging rocks. Here was a deserted Carthusian Abbey which upon the petition of the exiled monks of La Trappe was given them for a home and refuge by the cantonal authorities, and within this monastery the austerities of La Trappe were again put into active operation. This for some years continued to be the only centre from which the followers of De Rancé could exert their influence, and follow the precepts of their founder. The house was raised to the dignity of an Abbey in 1794, and even before this time began the work of founding filiations in other parts of Europe—*i. e.*, in Belgium, in Spain, in Piedmont, and in Westphalia. These establishments date from 1793. But that house whose foundation directly concerns the history of New Melleray, was about to be established in England. Among other parts of the world to which the attention of the Abbot of Valsainte turned was Canada, and in 1794 Father John Baptist was ordered to proceed to London en route for the new world. Although the English laws against Catholics and religious orders were yet in force, this band of Trappists was received and protected by the English government under the pretense that they were French exiles. Arrangements were made for their voyage to Canada, but at the moment of embarkation the project was given up, and they remained in England. In March, 1796, the community entered their new monastery which had been erected mainly through the generosity of Thomas Weld near his castle of Lullworth, in the county of Dorset, and from that castle it derived its name. The sojourn of the monks in England lasted until 1817. They were warned to receive only French novices and informed that the government tolerated them only as French refugees. Both Irish and English postulants had joined the community and the Abbot not being willing to conform to this restriction which was imposed by Lord Sidmouth, petitioned Louis XVIII. for permission to return to France and restore the Cistercian order. This petition was granted. St. Susan of Lullworth was disposed of, and on the 10th of July, 1817, the community which numbered sixty persons embarked on

the government frigate *La Revanche*. This ship had been assigned for their use by the French King.

The question had arisen as to where this company of Trappists should find a home, for in France there had survived the storm of the Revolution only the monasteries of the Grande Chartreuse and of Melleray. Arrangements were finally made by which the Abbot came into possession of the latter. Its lands had been sold, like those of other monasteries, and were in the hands of different owners, but at last through purchase and through gift the most of the monastic lands, and the Abbey, were repurchased and the religious were solemnly installed in Melleray on the 7th of August, 1817.

MELLERAY.

The story of the founding of Melleray Abbey is as follows: In the twelfth century monks of Pontrond, a monastery of the order of Cîteaux in Anjou, were sent in search of a fitting site for a new monastery. They approached the village of Moisdon in Brittany and were so coldly received by the peasants that they were forced to take refuge in a forest. Here they selected a hollow tree for their resting place for the night, and within it they found a honeycomb which supplied them with the food which the inhospitable peasants had refused. From this circumstance the name of the Abbey is said to be derived—*Mellis alvearium*, *Mellearium*, *Melleray*.¹ Whether this derivation be correct or not, and it seems likely enough, the monastery was founded in 1142 by Alvin Siegneur de Moisdon. Of the ancient buildings nothing remains to-day but the gate of entrance and a part of the church consecrated in 1183. Reconstructions and renovations succeeded each other at different intervals, and the main buildings date from the last century. The traditions of ecclesiastical architecture had by that time declined, and the more ancient halls

¹ *Benoist, Felix. Notice sur l'Abbaye de N.-D. de La Trappe de Melleray, p. 14. (Nantes, 1884.)*

were cast down and in place of them were erected new buildings which in their general appearance resembled chateaux rather than monastic habitations. This stream of innovation was then in full flood in France, and betokened a decay not only of the true monastic rules of architecture, but also of the institution itself. Melleray therefore only followed the current, and displays in its architecture but few of the antique characteristics of the twelfth century. In 1791 it fell like other religious establishments beneath the wrath of the Constituent Assembly and was sold with all its dependencies as national property to many different purchasers.

To this monastery, reacquired as has been said by strenuous efforts, Dom Antonie, the Abbot of Lullworth, led his community. The revival of Trappist discipline in France was not lightly regarded by the Bretons or the world, and from Nantes to Melleray the monks were attended by throngs of peasants, and by the more important personages of the neighborhood. The community possessed again an Abbey, but an Abbey which had fallen into ruin and farms which had lain for years partly neglected. Besides all this, Melleray is situated in one of the poorest cantons of the department of the Loire-Inférieure. The property comprised about four hundred acres. This was divided into four farms. Three of them were let, and the fourth, around the Abbey, was reserved for the personal manual labor of the community.¹

It was the cultivation of these lands by the monks which rendered the name of the Abbot, Dom Antoine,² and of Melleray, so celebrated in France, for the English system of agriculture was introduced, English agricultural instruments, unknown in France, were brought to the lands of the Abbey, and the farmers of Brittany soon improved their methods and introduced the new and improved system. More than this, a market garden was established and vegetables were sold in

¹ *Benoist, Felix. Notice sur l'Abbaye de N.-D. de La Trappe de Melleray, p. 35.*

² For the life of Dom Antoine, otherwise Anne-Nicolas-Charles Saulnier de Beauregard, Doctor of Theology of the Sorbonne, see *Ibid.*, p. 28, et seq.

Chateaubriant and the environs of the monastery, while an agricultural school was also established there, into which were received many pupils. The agricultural and horticultural school spread the fame of the Abbot through France, and ameliorated by its advanced methods the condition of the farmers of the neighboring departments. Until 1830 the community of Melleray lived on in temporal and spiritual prosperity and with numbers reaching at certain times, as many as two hundred. But in that year of revolution the Abbey met with a severe stroke of ill-fortune—one which led eventually to the establishment of the Abbey of New Melleray in Dubuque County, Iowa. The Abbot had long been known as a friend of the Bourbons. In 1820 he had pronounced at Nantes the funeral sermon of the Duke de Berri, who fell beneath the stroke of the assassin. In 1829 the Duchess de Berri had visited the abbey, and had been received with the honor befitting her rank, and then accorded to royal princesses by the customs of the Trappists. These causes were reinforced by the reception into the community of many Irish and English monks and by the envy for the agricultural prosperity of Melleray which was felt by the surrounding country. Hence when Charles X. was driven from his throne, and the citizen-King, Louis Phillippe, entered the Tuilleries, it was not wonderful that private hatred, and public suspicion should be directed against the Trappists of Melleray. They were accused of plotting against the new monarchy, of harboring Irishmen and Englishmen who were sturdy legitimists, and of rebelling against the new régime. This general policy against the monastic establishment of Melleray took definite shape in 1831. On the 5th of August of that year the prefect of Nantes obtained an order of arrest in accordance with which the community of Melleray was to be suppressed and dissolved. This order not having been obeyed, a detachment of soldiers in number about six hundred surrounded the Abbey on the 28th of September. Sentinels were placed at all places of egress, and the authorities assembled in the Abbot's room and declared that in virtue of an

ordinance of Napoleon the establishment of Melleray was unconstitutional.¹ The authorities, therefore, proclaimed that they were armed with power to dissolve the brotherhood and give passports to all its members. The true causes for this action may be found among those stated above, and the sub-prefect of Chateaubriant made himself the following statement: "One of the chief reasons which has compelled us to have recourse to these unpleasant measures, is the clamor now prevalent among good citizens and respectable members of families, that almost all the people of the neighborhood prefer the Abbey mill to their mills; that the vegetables of Melleray are bought in preference, and at a cheaper rate than from the ordinary green-grocers, and that the leather of the monastery is in great request."² There can be no doubt that the legitimist sympathies of the Abbot (which were not unnatural when the reactionary policy of Charles X. as regards ecclesiastical orders, and the admission into fuller freedom of the monastic orders is taken into consideration) were of powerful weight in determining this action of the authorities. Louis Phillippe was not yet secure upon his throne—centres of rebellion against his government were to be found in many parts of France; under the new constitution the old religion had been freed from the iron hand which had restored under Charles X. the special immunities which under the Republic had been denied it—the monasteries were not unlikely to be centres of quiet but effectual protest against the dethronement of a King who was emphatically a lover of monks. Hence when the extreme loyalty of the Abbot to the elder branch of Bourbon had been displayed by his funeral sermon over the Duke of Berri, and by his royal reception of the Duchess, even slight signs of dissatisfaction with the new reign would be magnified by the new prefects into serious offenses, and in fact into treason. Advantage was taken of the old edicts about religious houses—edicts which had been superseded

¹ *Benoist, Felix. Notice sur l'Abbaye de N.-D. de La Trappe de Melleray*, p. 43.

² *Concise History of the Cistercian Order*, pp. 225-6.

since the Restoration—and a shadow of legal form was in this way given to the proceedings.

But the revised Charter¹ granted liberty of worship to every one, and the defense of the Abbot rested upon this ground. A second investment of Melleray in October resulted in the giving of passports to forty five French monks, and the determination upon the part of the Abbot to put off the religious habit as a matter of prudence until he could examine the rights which the Charter conferred upon him, and then to stand upon them.

But the principle cause of trouble was the presence in Melleray of a large number of British Trappists. Fear of England made it embarrassing for the government to treat them otherwise than as Englishmen, and, the assistance of the Consul having been invoked, they were conveyed in free omnibuses on the 19th of November to a steam vessel which carried them down the sound to the Hebe, a sloop of war then lying at St. Nazaire. At length after some delay they sailed on the 28th of November and arrived in Cork, their destination, on the 1st of December. These British subjects were most of them Irishmen, and at their own desire they were conveyed to Ireland. Such in brief was the history of the expulsion from France, in 1831, of the men who were to found Mt. Melleray. The story of Melleray Abbey from that time is briefly as follows: There were left in the monastery only a few monks, its industries were ruined, and for some years it remained in a state of forced inactivity and of uncertainty. At length it revived, and to-day is one of four first monasteries of the order, acknowledging, as do all the Trappist houses, La Grande Trappe as its superior and mother house.

MT. MELLERAY.²

Before the storm had burst upon the Trappists of Melleray,

¹ Charter granted by Louis Phillippe.

² The chief sources for the history of the Abbey are manuscripts furnished to the author by the Reverend Father Superior and by the Reverend Father Placid of New Melleray. Some details will be found, but very meagre ones, in the History of the Cistercian Order, quoted above.

as just recounted,¹ Dom Antoine, foreseeing a tempest, had sent to Ireland in 1830 Father Vincent Ryan and Brothers Malachy and Moses with the purpose of selecting a place of refuge. A foundation of Trappists had been solicited by the Archbishop of Dublin and the following letter is a copy of the reply sent to the Archbishop by Dom Antoine.

“MY LORD:

“The events which, during some months back, have been passing in France, are not less known to your Grace than to myself. Those which still threaten this unhappy kingdom, and which are directed more against religion than against the monarch, have made me think seriously before God, how I may preserve the precious and interesting colony which it hath pleased His goodness, notwithstanding my incapability and unworthiness, to confide to my care. I have cast a glance through Europe, and I tremble. For everywhere I behold commotion, insurrection, discord. Ireland appears to me, at this moment, the most secure from any revolutionary movement. The great majority of its inhabitants are Catholic; their attachment to the religion of their forefathers is proverbial. Emancipation,² which they so long and so justly demanded, is now granted, and has already become the best surety of peace, in a country the spiritual wants of which are supplied by prelates whose zeal equals their piety. But the decisive consideration, my Lord, is this plain fact; in a house composed at this time of a hundred and seventy members, forty of these are from Ireland. One objection alone meets and opposes me—the want of funds. The greater part of the members who have joined us, brought nothing with them but their good will. The repairs of our monastery—the purchase of the property—the support of so large a family, have entirely exhausted our feeble resources; so that we have not the means wherewith to assist our brothers in the estab-

¹ Above, title “MELLERAY.”

² The “Emancipation” of the Catholics in England—*i. e.*, the repeal of the anti-Catholic laws, took place in 1829.

lishment of a foundation in a foreign land. But God, who is rich in mercy, and whose Providence has constantly watched over us, since the commotions in France, has given to us at this moment a fresh proof of His unspeakable kindness and generosity in our favour. Many pious and respectable persons of both sexes in your Grace's diocese, have offered in a most handsome manner to supply funds for the foundation of a Cistercian house in Ireland. I behold in these traits of benevolence, my Lord, the worthy descendants of those of noble minded men, who formerly adorned Ireland with so many religious asylums, and who testified a deep interest in the monks of Cîteaux—the children of St. Stephen and St. Bernard. I feel bound to respond to so generous an appeal; but that which principally confirms my resolution, is the assurance that bishops of Ireland, and more especially your Grace, will favour the undertaking by their kind sympathy and protection.

“For this reason I have sent the Reverend Father Vincent Ryan, Prior of Melleray, and Father Malachy, to lay before your Grace our present position, our designs, and the details necessary for a full explanation of the subject. I do not doubt but that, under your Grace's auspices, this institution we have in contemplation, and which is intended for the glory of God and the salvation of souls, will prosper, and bring forth abundant fruit. May our wishes, my Lord, be realized: May Ireland again present that fervour and piety which rendered her eminent even among the Catholic kingdoms of the universe! May the children of St. Bernard and of Abbé Rancé, even in these later days—days of sorrow and general defection from the faith—re-people once more your solitudes, and console the church for the losses which she daily deplores, and which seem to bring us to the borders of those unhappy times, when, as our Divine Master informs us, faith will be found no longer on the earth.”¹

The establishment of a house in Ireland proved more diffi-

¹ *History of the Cistercian Order*, pp. 221-2-3.

cult than had been anticipated, but the first step toward this end was taken by Father Vincent in the renting of a house and fifty acres of land at Rathmore in the county of Kerry, about twelve miles from Killarney. While the pioneers of the new monastery were thus occupied in Ireland, the expulsion of the Irish monks from France actually took place, and when they arrived in Cork, they were met by Father Vincent, who explained to them his needy circumstances, and stated that any of them were at liberty to seek homes elsewhere. Four or five took advantage of his permission, but the rest followed him to Rathmore. In the course of time nearly all the French exiles, not only those of Irish birth, but those of English and French extraction, were gathered to Rathmore. It was evident that a rented house of small dimensions and fifty acres of land were entirely inadequate to the carrying out of the Trappist customs, and Father Vincent bent himself to the task of obtaining a more fitting and spacious residence.

Sir Richard Keane, a Protestant gentleman, made over to Father Vincent for a nominal rent an area of six hundred acres of mountainous land, barren and unbroken, and five lay brethren were sent in 1832 to begin the task of its enclosure and cultivation. This domain was situated in the county of Waterford near the town of Cappoquin. The surrounding country gave liberally of its means and of its manual labor to aid the Trappists in the erection of their monastery, and to help them to reclaim the desert which had never known any cultivation. At first, Father Vincent and a few of the monks whom he had brought with him from Rathmore, took up their abode in a small cottage near their farm called "the cottage Bethlehem"—but on the 20th of August, 1833, the first stone of the present Abbey was laid by Sir Richard Keane in the presence of the Bishop of Waterford, a numerous body¹ of

¹ At the laying of the corner-stone of Mt. Melleray there were present of the Trappists about twenty. Among this twenty were Father Vincent, Brothers Ambrose Byrne, and Foley of the lay brethren, and Brothers David and Francis of the choir brethren.

clergy and a concourse of people which is said to have numbered nearly twenty thousand souls. The progress of the building was however slow, and it was not until 1838 that it was inhabited by the community, and in October of the same year divine service was celebrated in the church of the monastery for the first time.

It is worth noticing, that in virtue of this first establishment of the Reformed Cistercians or Trappists in Ireland, the monastery was raised to the dignity of an Abbey, and by a brief of Pope Gregory XVI. Father Vincent was appointed a mitred Abbot. This was the first consecration of a mitred Abbot in Ireland since the Reformation, and the ceremony was celebrated on the 17th of May, 1835. The Abbey was given at the same time an independent jurisdiction, thus freeing it from dependence upon the mother house. At this time the Abbey had become the home of the greater number of the French exiles—*i. e.*, of about seventy persons.

“Mt. Melleray, the mother house of New Melleray, is situated about three and a half miles northward from Cappoquin. The Abbey cannot be seen from Cappoquin, as the woods belonging to Sir Richard Keane’s demesne conceal it from view, and, for the same reason, neither can the mountains to the rear of the Abbey be seen from the town. In fact, from the town no vestige of the celebrated Abbey of Trappists can be discerned. The town, like others of its size, is generally pretty noisy, there is an almost constant hub-bub there from morning to night, and the passing traveler sees nothing to indicate that in the near neighborhood there is a celebrated establishment of ascetics, of men living in profound solitude, entirely shut off from the busy world, observing among themselves an almost unbroken silence and devoted exclusively to their eternal interests. When the traveler has driven perhaps a mile and a half on the Clonmel road, of a sudden he is startled. In front of him is an extensive plain, not cultivated, for it is in great part covered with heather; bounding his horizon on the north is a range of mountains, the two principal heights being Knockmealdown and Knocknafolla. Quietly

seated at the foot of this latter height is the Abbey, nestling in groves of modern date. The buildings are low but very extensive. Looking down on the Abbey from the tower of the church, one might fancy himself looking down upon a village. A well kept avenue leads from the main road up to the Abbey. The first building that is seen upon this avenue is a school for the little boys of the neighborhood, and generally two choir monks are employed to teach in it. The next building is the classical seminary, having a small lawn in front. After leaving the seminary the monastery lodge is reached in two or three minutes. This lodge is really a large two-story house, having from ten to twelve large rooms. As this lodge is outside the enclosure of the monastery, women as well as men are received in it. Here two lay brethren in their brown habits are always in attendance. At every hour of the day or night they are prepared to receive guests. Men who wish to see the interior of the monastery have no difficulty in gratifying their desire, for one of the brothers shows them with great courtesy all that is worth seeing—viz: the church, chapter room, dormitory, refectory, cloisters, cemetery, sacristy, shops, garden, library, etc. Although the monks are met with in all parts of the house they never speak to visitors, they are intent on their various duties and go through them in silence. The numerous visitors never disturb them in the least, for the brother porter so manages that while the visitors are in the immediate vicinity of the brethren, they speak only in a low whisper. The brethren, though they are devoted to solitude and to seclusion and to silence, are not misanthropes, but, on the contrary, have very warm feelings for their fellow men, and hence are not disturbed when seeing them in the monastery.”¹

This first foundation of Trappists in Ireland was fruitful in results. Not only did the abbey prosper, but its prosperity

¹ This description of Mt. Melleray is from the manuscript, kindly given to the author of the monograph by its writer, the Rev. Father Placid, who spent many years in Mt. Melleray, and is now Sub-Prior of New Melleray.

became so great, and its condition so crowded, that in about 1835, even before the monastery was completed, a few brethren were sent to England where an Abbey was founded, though under the affiliation of Melleray, in the same year. This Abbey is called Mt. St. Bernard, and is situated in Leicestershire.

Father Vincent, in order that his monks might contribute in some way to the public good, appointed a few choir brethren to conduct a classical school attached to the monastery. This is found in the seminary above alluded to.¹ This establishment was successful from its inception, and is to-day a prominent school in the county of Waterford. A part of the Abbey church was given up to the use of the public, and priests were appointed to take charge of it. This arrangement also was successful, and at the present time there are ten or twelve priests of the Abbey devoted to the services of the public.

Abbot Vincent died in 1845, and to him succeeded a Superior who held office only until 1848, and was followed by Abbot Bruno, who still governs Mt. Melleray. It was in his time that the emigration to the United States occurred which resulted in the foundation of the Abbey of New Melleray in Dubuque County, Iowa.

NEW MELLERAY.²

The history of the Trappist Abbeys which have been described in the earlier portions of this monograph finds its final outcome for the State of Iowa in the existence of New Melleray. Between Monte Cassino and the monastery which rises not far from the Mississippi, the connection, though extending through centuries, is distinct and plain. Monte Cassino, Cluny, Molesme and Citeaux; Monte Cassino, Fon-

¹ Supra, p. 34.

² The sources for the history of New Melleray are, records of the Abbey, manuscripts written by the monks, and oral information kindly given the author by the Father Superior, and by Father Placid, Sub-Prior.

trevault, Savigni, La Trappe, Citeaux. The stream of monasticism which flowed from that Italian summit of the Appennines, though divided into many channels for six centuries, found its legitimate expression in the Cistercian reforms, and in that, attracted perhaps insensibly, united those monasteries of the older order which were situated on different sides of France. Citeaux becomes therefore a new point of departure, and from this La Trappe, Valsainte, St. Susan of Lullworth, Melleray, and Mt. Melleray are distinct ancestors in the pedigree of New Melleray.

We will preface the history of New Melleray with a brief description of its situation. This Abbey is situated in the State of Iowa, about twelve miles southwest of the city of Dubuque. The approach to it from the city is by the military road for ten miles, a road which unlike most American roads is macadamized. Thence for perhaps two miles the road is undulating, winding over hills, and through valleys. At the end of ten miles one turns abruptly to the right and passes into a forest. This forest is penetrated by a road which has been constructed by the monks, and which is carried on roughly laid blocks of stone across a number of deep ravines. As one plunges from the light and splendor of the summer's day into these darker recesses, the mind is well prepared for the stillness and quiet of the Abbey. Emerging from the forest road, the Abbey is seen at a little distance, and the cross crowning a gentle elevation.

As the Trappists invariably select quiet and remote situations for their monastery, so the site of New Melleray is no exception to the general rule. The immediate grounds of the Abbey are surrounded by a high, close fence, the gates of which are usually kept locked. The lodge and the house for strangers which exist in older establishments¹ have not yet been erected here. On the contrary, the stranger is received at a side door of the main building which opens into

¹ See title MT. MELLERAY, p. 29 *supra*. Also title OTHER CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES, *infra*, p. 54.

a hall and reception room. Here he is entertained by the guest-father, in this monastery, the Sub-Prior. Hither too comes the Superior or Abbot to welcome his guests. As hospitality is one of the most ancient and valued privileges of the monks, and is enjoined upon them by the Rule of St. Benedict,¹ refreshment is early offered to the guests. This is sometimes brought to the reception room, but more often the guests are conducted to the strangers' refectory. The guest-father, or a lay brother who is assigned to that duty, devotes himself to the comfort and convenience of the strangers, and they are shown all objects of interest in the monastery and about it.² Should a desire be expressed to remain a night or to spend some time at the Abbey, a pleasant room is provided and the comfort of the stranger is assiduously observed. It is unnecessary to say to those familiar with the customs of foreign lands that, at departing, a sum of money, such as the visitor is able to spare, or such as he thinks is a just equivalent for his entertainment, or such as his conscience dictates, should be quietly given to the guest-father to be bestowed in charity.

The grounds immediately surrounding the monastery are laid out with much beauty. To the rear of the building extend two distinct avenues of trees resembling cloisters—the branches having been trained so as to form an arch overhead. In this secluded and silent retreat the monks may be seen walking in their brief moments of leisure. One seems to be within the nave of some great cathedral, the light dimly falling through the boughs above. These cloistral avenues are one of the chief beauties of New Melleray. Several well-kept gardens are also to be seen, and the graveyard with its simple crosses familiarizes the monks with the thought of death. Nor do they think of this as a foe. During the building of the monastery the monks resided in a wooden house which is still in existence, and is considered and used at

¹ *Rule of St. Benedict*, chapter 53.

² See MT. MELLERAY, p. 29, *supra*.

present as a sort of lodge. The general dimensions and appearance of the Abbey are somewhat as follows:

The stone Abbey was first inhabited in 1875, twenty-six years after the laying of its corner-stone in 1849. This building, which is not yet finished, neither the church nor the cloister being complete, extends in the form of a partly completed cross two hundred and twelve feet in the longer arm and one hundred and twenty in the shorter. These arms are thirty-five feet wide. Within them are contained the various apartments which constitute the home of the monks. The Abbey is built of limestone. The walls are laid carefully and firmly. Not far from it on a slight elevation is the cross which indicates the neighborhood of a monastery. Upon its walls ivy is growing, and the Abbey, even since 1875, has assumed an appearance of some age and antiquity.

HISTORY OF NEW MELLERAY.

The Abbey of Mt. Melleray, County Waterford, Ireland, became overcrowded with members. The land was unproductive and not well adapted to the support of so large a community, and, as France was closed against them, and the Abbey of St. Bernard had already been established in England, it was thought best by Abbot Bruno to attempt the settlement of a branch of the community in America. After much deliberation Father Bernard McCaffrey and Brother Anthony Keating were chosen by Abbot Bruno as the pioneers of the movement and were instructed to select, if possible, a desirable place for a Trappist establishment in America. They left Mt. Melleray on the 25th of July, 1848, and arrived at length in New York, but they effected nothing at once. After some time they were invited by a friend in Pennsylvania to inspect a locality in Bedford County of that State, but this place did not prove satisfactory, and was therefore rejected. Soon after this decision was reached, Brother Anthony returned to Mt. Melleray, and Father Bernard determined to go

to the Trappist monastery of Gethsemane, in Nelson County, Kentucky, which had been founded in 1800. Here he was entertained kindly, but remained for some time in a sort of forced inaction. The Abbot of Mt. Melleray was not discouraged and was still determined to find a suitable place for his monks who overcrowded his monastery, and so in January, 1849, two were sent out as an advance guard. These were Father Clement Smyth and Brother Ambrose Byrne, who sailed in the steamship Sarah Sands. These were as unsuccessful as the others had been and nothing was accomplished.

An unforeseen accident however resulted in the foundation of New Melleray when the direct efforts of Father Bruno had seemed unavailing. Early in 1849 Bishop Loras, of Dubuque, who was travelling in Europe, visited the Abbey of Mt. Melleray, and expressed a strong desire to have a colony of Trappists founded in his diocese. He offered them a tract of prairie land lying about twelve miles from the city of Dubuque in a southwesterly direction. Abbot Bruno immediately determined to accept the offer if the situation was favorable, and wrote directly to Father Clement in America about the offer in Dubuque. Father Clement sent Brother Ambrose to examine the land and its location. Upon close inspection it satisfied Father Ambrose, and, considering it an eligible site for a Trappist monastery, he accepted the offer. A place, therefore, in America had been found for the second Trappist colony in the United States. The acceptance of Brother Ambrose was ratified by Abbot Bruno, and the latter immediately sailed for America. He hastened to Dubuque across a county unsupplied with good means of intercommunication, bringing with him Father James O'Gorman and some lay brethren. The names of the lay brothers were: Brothers Timothy, Joseph, Barnaby and Macarius. On the 16th of July of that same year of 1849, Abbot Bruno, of Mt. Melleray in Ireland laid the foundation of New Melleray Abbey in Dubuque County, Iowa. Seven monks were present on this occasion. Three of them were priests, viz: the Abbot Bruno, Father James O'Gorman and Father Clement Smyth. Father

O'Gorman was appointed the first Superior, and Abbot Bruno returned to Ireland.

Again, on the 10th of September, 1849, sixteen members of the Mt. Melleray establishment were sent out to New Melleray. One was a priest, viz: Father Patrick Mahon; two were choir brethren, viz: Brothers Bernard Murphy and Benedict McNevin, and sixteen were lay brothers. This detachment sailed from Liverpool for New Orleans on board the sailing ship "The Carnatic of Boston." Six of these brothers died of cholera as they came up the Mississippi, and their bodies repose at different places along its banks.

But the emigration from Mt. Melleray had not ceased. Neither the fate of their brethren, who had died upon the way, nor the long and wearisome journey could deter them, and so, on the 12th of April, 1850, a third detachment of twenty-three arrived at New Melleray. These were headed by Father Francis Walsh, who immediately became Superior. Up to this date then, the 12th of April, 1850, Mt. Melleray had sent to Dubuque between forty and fifty of its inmates. Of the last detachment twenty-two were Irishmen and one, Brother Jules, was a Frenchman. Thus, by 1850 the new Abbey had entered vigorously upon its American life, and the settlement of Trappist monks in Iowa was no longer tentative but an established fact. It may be interesting and useful to append a brief sketch of the eight Superiors¹ who have ruled the Abbey since 1849.

FATHER JAMES O'GORMAN.

Father James O'Gorman was appointed the first Superior on the 15th of July, 1849, the very day the institution, organized as a community, began its existence. It was understood from the beginning that Father James was to be only temporarily a Superior. He was to remain in office only until such

¹ The technical difference between an Abbot and a Superior is that the former is elected by his monks and blessed by a Bishop. The latter is appointed by the house to which the monastery is subordinate, or, being elected by his own monks, is subordinate to the mother house.

time as another from Mt. Melleray should arrive to take his place. Upon the arrival of his successor Father James resigned his office into his hands. Father James was a remarkably eloquent man, he was in all senses of the word an excellent preacher, and he is to the present time spoken of by the people living in the neighborhood of the Abbey as the "best preacher New Melleray has yet produced." Father James was created afterwards Bishop of Nebraska, and died in Omaha in 1874.

FATHER FRANCIS WALSH.

This Superior, who succeeded Father James O'Gorman, and was appointed by Abbot Bruno of Mt. Melleray, resigned his position after he had held it for two years. In the year 1858 he asked for and received permission to go on missionary duty. This characteristic of Father Francis—*i. e.*, the desire to go into the world and preach the gospel—is quite unknown among the Trappists, but is a distinctive trait of the active orders of monks. It was most fully developed among the Friars, the followers of St. Francis and St. Dominic. Father Francis was a devoted priest for thirty years, and in 1888 returned to New Melleray where he still lives. His going out to discharge missionary duty was an exceptional case.

FATHER CLEMENT SMYTH.

Father Clement was the third Superior. Hitherto the Superiors had been appointed by the Abbot of Mt. Melleray. Now for the first time the monks were permitted to exercise their own choice. The new Superior proved to be an excellent one. He was kind, considerate, humble. A brother among brethren, he possessed the true community spirit, and in the pursuit of his ends—*i. e.*, the advancement of the monastery in repute and of the monks in holiness—he made himself all to all. There were no details of monastic life which were too trifling for him. Quietly, and indeed instinctively, he saw into everything, and with firmness or with severity, as one or the other was required by the occasion, advanced the

interests of New Melleray. After holding office for about six years he became coadjutor to Bishop Loras, of Dubuque, and, after that prelate's death, succeeded him as Bishop of the Diocese. He soon became a favorite in Dubuque through his affability, his condescension, and his unfeigned kindness of heart. That same nature which had rendered him so beloved in the monastery produced a like effect in his diocese. He was beloved in every corner of it, and died universally regretted, after a comparatively brief enjoyment of his pastoral staff, in Dubuque in 1865.

FATHER IGNATIUS FOLEY.

Father Ignatius Foley held office only part of one year. He then returned to his own monastery of Mt. Melleray, and directly after his arrival took an active part in the conduct of the classical school attached to the Abbey,¹ and intended chiefly for the training of ecclesiastical students. Some years later he became president of the seminary, and still holds this office. He has been very successful in filling this position, and under his care many young men have been educated who are now priests in missionary work—some in America, others in Australia.

FATHER BERNARD McCAFFREY.

Father Bernard, like Father James O'Gorman, held office only until such time as another from Mt. Melleray should come to take his place.

FATHER EPHRAIM McDONALD.

On the 25th of February, 1859, Father Ephraim took office as Superior. He had been Prior and novice-master of Mt. Melleray. Through the agency and active assistance of Father Clement, then Bishop of Dubuque, the monastery was raised to the dignity of an Abbey,² and shortly after Father

¹ *Supra*, p. 35.

² The technical difference between an Abbey and a monastery is that an Abbey is generally exempted from Episcopal control. That is to say, the

Ephraim was elected first Abbot¹ and blessed in the Cathedral of Dubuque, the sermon being preached on that occasion by the Bishop of Chicago.

Abbot Ephraim held his office for a little more than twenty-one years, and returned to Mt. Melleray in 1883. He is still living in the mother-monastery and is now in his seventy-first year. He was remarkable for his piety and austerity. He gave a considerable part of each day to private prayer; his attitude while thus engaged can hardly be forgotten by those who witnessed it. As long as his health permitted he observed the rule to the letter, taking during half the year, Sundays excepted, but one meal in the day, and that at half after two in the afternoon, having arisen at two o'clock in the morning. He took his part in the hardest and most menial field labor, and made himself all in all to his brethren. His humility was remarkable, for, although Abbot and Superior, he made everyone feel that honors and distinctions and dignities were nothing to him but burdens.

FATHER ALBERIC DUNLEA.

About six weeks after the resignation of Abbot Ephraim, Father Alberic became Superior of New Melleray. He had also held the office of master of novices at Mt. Melleray. He was looked upon there as a thorough Trappist, a strict observer of the rule, and his manner, naturally grave and serious, was a perpetual lesson for his novices. At New Melleray, and in his new position as Superior, he proved himself a thorough Trappist. He was full of ardor and full of zeal. He retired from office in 1889, after having governed the

Bishop of the diocese has no inherent right to interfere in the affairs of an Abbey which are managed by its Abbot and its monks. Different regulations may exist in different cases, but as a rule an Abbey is independent.

¹ The Abbot in the middle ages was a most important personage, wearing the insignia of a Bishop, and entirely independent of the Bishop of the diocese in the exercise of his authority. The Abbot is elected by the monks of his Abbey and owes, as a rule, no allegiance to any superior power except, as in the case of the Trappists, to the Pope, and La Grande Trappe, the mother-house.

community almost six years. He is now Prior, or second in authority in the community.

FATHER LOUIS CAREW.

In September, 1889, Father Louis succeeded Father Alberic, and is the present Superior. He came from Mt. Melleray as did his predecessor. In that community he held several important offices. He was successively sub-prior, master of novices, and procurator. Even while discharging some of these community offices he took a leading part in conducting the Mt. Melleray ecclesiastical seminary. For years he taught the class in philosophy, and with success, and many of his pupils are to-day hard-working priests in many parts of the United States.

The character of Father Louis, who is now in his forty-first year, can be described in a few words. He has wonderful self-control, he is never taken by surprise. No event, however unexpected, seems to disturb his equanimity. He seems always prepared for any emergency and his temper is never ruffled. He has great force of mind, but there is no violence, no anger. He appears to take in at a glance his complicated duties as Superior, and then with intense force of mind, and free from all bitterness and violence, he accomplishes his ends without occasioning any pain to his brethren, and without any harshness of action. His self-possession, his gentleness and his firmness make his government efficient, and a light yoke on the community.¹

The history of the Abbey since its foundation must be viewed in the light of its spiritual and its temporal development. The establishment of a community so ascetic upon the prairies of Iowa is, in itself, a remarkable circumstance. There is but one other Trappist Abbey in the United States, that of Gethsemane, in the State of Kentucky. The reasons which

¹ This brief sketch of the various Superiors of New Melleray is chiefly from MSS. furnished to the author by Reverend Father Placid of that Abbey.

induced the Abbot of Mt. Melleray to accept the offer of the Bishop of Dubuque were simple ones. The offer was the most generous which had been made, and Dubuque is, as is well known, strongly Catholic. Perhaps the early French settlers determined the religion of that part of Iowa; at any rate, the proportion of Roman Catholics in Dubuque County is far above the average in the State. The knowledge of this circumstance may have had some effect in leading Abbot Bruno to determine upon the acceptance of Bishop Loras' offer. Since the arrival of the Trappists this religious belief has spread. But it may be doubted whether, outside of the immediate vicinity of the Abbey, its influence in determining the religious views of the population of the county has been marked. There has been erected a parish church near the Abbey in which the monks preach every Sunday, and the neighboring community is very strongly of the Catholic faith, and very regular in its attendance at the services of the church. The monks have been an important factor in impressing the neighboring inhabitants with the conviction that there are some persons who are willing to devote themselves entirely to the interests of their own souls, and to the good of their neighbors. This latter duty the Trappists are eager to fulfill, and do fulfill in many ways—*i. e.*, in charity, in preaching, and in many good works. Thus, although they are commonly and justly considered a community of ascetics, it is unjust to consider them as leading a life wholly selfish in its devotion to their own spiritual welfare and future happiness alone. Trappist priests have no objection whatever to undertake the work of the sacred ministry within their monastic enclosure, but it is foreign to their vocation to go out into the world for this purpose.

They have also been of great advantage to the surrounding farmers by introducing improved methods of agriculture, and fine breeds of stock. As a horticultural and agricultural school was one of the most important features of Melleray Abbey in 1830, so, although the same completeness of equipment is not to be found here, they have kept abreast of the times,

and their stock farm has been renowned. The Cistercians have always been devoted to agricultural improvements, and the Trappists at New Melleray are no exception to the general and ancient rule. The grounds of the Abbey which are neatly kept, the avenue already mentioned, and in fact all the improvements which are to be seen in the neighborhood of the Abbey, are the work of their own hands. It has taken many years to bring these cloistral avenues to their present perfection, but they are the work of time and the labor of the monks. The gift of Bishop Loras of seven hundred acres of land was the nucleus of the estate which they now possess, and which consists of more than two thousand acres. The land is rolling and diversified with more undulations than is common in the interior of the State. Grain is raised to some extent—greatly wheat—which is nearly all used in the monastery, for bread forms a very large and important article of their food. Scarcely any of the grain is sold, for the corn and other grains besides wheat are used for the stock. They have been great stock-raisers, and their income depends greatly on this product. It is perhaps enough to say here that their stock is famous and is in good demand. A transcript from the auditor's books in the appendix will indicate the amount of their property.¹

About the monastery are several gardens where all sorts of vegetables are raised, these being an important article of diet. Grapes also are to be seen growing, and from them a simple and pure wine is made, for the use of the monastery, and for visitors.

They pursue upon their estate the lives of great proprietors of land, and feel the same responsibilities for its proper improvement that is felt by lay owners of property. The lay brothers, whose hours of manual labor are more in number than those of the choir brothers, are not numerous enough to adequately cultivate all the lands, and therefore many laborers are employed, and some of the land is leased.

¹ Appendix V.

In a word, since the founding of the Abbey, its spiritual and temporal prosperity have been marked. Some years ago a considerable debt was incurred, from no fault of the monks. But this is now rapidly decreasing and will soon, under the able management of the present Superior, be entirely liquidated. When the debt was incurred many kind friends of the community came forward, and, along with their heart-felt sympathy, proffered substantial help. Among these kind friends there is one never to be forgotten by the inmates of the New Melleray. This is Hon. W. J. Knight of the city of Dubuque. His solicitude for the distressed community was more than paternal, his time and distinguished abilities were most unselfishly devoted to its interests, and the community feels that under God they are indebted to him for its continued existence.

The property is purely communistic property. All have the same rights to have their temporal wants supplied, but no one has any special right, no one can claim any portion of the property his own, no one can will any portion of it to another. Novices, before profession, if they choose to leave the community can take with them the property they may have brought with them, and it remains their own so long as they have not united themselves to the community irrevocably.

MEMBERSHIP AND GOVERNMENT OF NEW MELLERAY.

Before beginning an account of the Trappist discipline in New Melleray, and the austere observance of St. Benedict's Rule, it must be premised that the observances of Trappist monasteries differ slightly in minor details. Though all of them practice an ascetic life, the degree of asceticism varies for different reasons.

The colony which followed Dom Augustine to Valsainte in Switzerland, at the time of the French Revolution, was actuated by the conviction that the exigencies of the times, which seemed to threaten religion itself with destruction, required

the most extreme and exact, not to say exaggerated interpretation of St. Benedict's Rule, and a return to the austerities of Cîteaux in their most rigid form.¹ These, as has been said above, went even beyond the rule laid down by De Rancé. There arose, therefore, when the Revolution was over and peace was again restored, a dispute among the Trappists of different monasteries as to whether the original rule of Cîteaux or the rule of De Rancé should be followed. In order to give the highest sanction to any decision the question was carried to the Papal Curia, and by a bull of the Pope, dated October, 1834, it was provided that "with regard to fasts, prayer, and chanting in the choir they shall follow the rule of St. Benedict, or the constitutions of Abbé Rancé, according to the recognized rule of each monastery."²

By the rule of St. Benedict here mentioned is intended to be meant that rule as interpreted by the monks of Cîteaux. This bull, however, was not sufficiently definite entirely and satisfactorily to solve the difficulties of the case.

But with a view to a sort of compromise, the entire number of monasteries was divided into three congregations, viz: the congregation of La Grande Trappe, following the primitive constitutions of the order of Cîteaux; that of Sept-Fons, following the constitution of De Rancé; and the congregation of Belgium, following the latter rule somewhat modified.³

The Abbey of La Grande Trappe is considered the mother-house, and gives a name to the congregation to which Melleray, Mt. Melleray, and New Melleray all belong. The Abbey of New Melleray follows the more rigid observance of the old rule of Cîteaux, as interpreted by Dom Augustine at the Abbey of Valsainte.

There exist two classes of the religious professed, viz: the *Choir Brothers*, and the *Lay Brothers*. The first are chosen from among men who have been well educated and have a

¹ See *supra*, p. 6.

² See *Appendix I*.

³ See *Appendix II*.

knowledge of the Latin tongue. To this duty they consecrate six or seven hours in the day. The remainder of their time is occupied in manual labor, in meditation, in reading alone and in prayer.

The dress of the choir brother, when in dress of ceremony, is a long and wide tunic, called the cowl, made of white woolen cloth, with flowing sleeves, and attached to it is a capouch or hood. When at work they wear a dress of white woolen upon which is fixed a black scapular with a leathern girdle.

The lay brothers, among whom are often found men of distinguished origin, who prefer from various reasons to occupy this inferior rank, are employed especially in the cultivation of the ground, and in fulfilling the various duties, more or less menial, which exist in the community. They spend the most of their time in manual labor upon days when work can be done outside of the monastery. Their dress is of brown stuff, and in place of the cowl they wear a long garment without sleeves, but with a hood. Their hair is cut close.

The use of linen is forbidden to all the religious, and they wear next the skin a shirt of coarse serge.

Besides the *choir brothers* and the *lay brothers* there are to be found in the monastery the *novices*. These are admitted provisionally to try their strength, and power of endurance of the severe austerities of the Order, as well as fitness of vocation. If, after two years' trial, they still desire it, they are admitted by vote to the number of religious professed. They then pronounce their vows for three or five years.¹ This ceremony is followed by the final vows which seclude them forever from the world. These novices may be either of the choir or lay brothers. Their dress differs from that of the fully professed—*i. e.*, the novices of the choir wear a white

¹ *Benoist, Felix. Notice sur l'Abbaye de N.-D. de La Trappe de Melleray*, p. 87. Pope Pius IX. decreed that all Trappists, wherever they might be found, should pass two years before taking the simple vows, and after this three years more before taking the final and irrevocable ones. Feria IV. February 5, 1868.

robe, but not the cowl, their scapular and its hood is white and not black, and their girdle is of wool and not of leather.

The total number in the community is fifty-four. Of these fifteen are choir brothers, and thirty-nine are lay brothers. Six of the fifteen choir brothers are novices, and six of the lay brothers are novices. Thirteen members of the community are priests. Eleven members of the community are American born, the others are foreign by birth. It is difficult to find the exact number who in different decades have inhabited New Melleray, but in 1862 there were *forty-eight* professed members, and in 1892 there are *forty-two*. As will be easily seen this is the sum total of fifty-four minus the twelve novices. Of fully professed choir brothers there are, therefore, but nine, the balance of the fifty-four members of the community being made up of lay brothers and of novices.

The government of the Abbey is vested in the Abbot or Superior as the case may be. This officer is immediately responsible to the Vicar General of the congregation, viz., the Abbot of La Grande Trappe, then to the President General of the Cistercians who resides at Rome, and finally and ultimately to the Pope. The Abbot wears no insignia of his dignity save a cross of wood supported by a cord of violet silk, and a simple ring. But when he ministers at the altar at high ceremonials he is obliged to wear his pontifical robes and mitre.¹

The Abbot enjoys no better food, no richer dress and no softer bed than the other brothers. He presides from the Abbot's seat in the chapter, he receives professions, he distributes employments and imposes penances. The well-being of the Abbey from both a spiritual and temporal point of view depends essentially upon the Abbot. In piety he is the model of the monks, and upon his business capacity depends to a great extent the prosperity of the community. His power, with the exceptions noted above, is nearly absolute, his word is law and his commands must be carried out. As the monks

¹ These differ slightly from those of a Bishop.

themselves elect him, they can also propose his deposition to the proper authorities, but this exigency is almost unknown.

Next to the Abbot in dignity is the Prior, who in case of necessity takes the Abbot's place, and whose business it is to look after those matters which the Abbot is debarred from attending to on account of the multiplicity and insistence of his monastic duties. An officer called the Sub-Prior assists the Prior in his duties. The cellarer has direct charge of the temporal affairs of the Abbey, and directs the work as it is laid out by the Abbot. In larger houses there are one or more *under-cellarers*. Besides these officers there are also others whose duties are indicated by their titles, viz., the Master of Novices, the Secretary, the Master of Lay Brethren, the Guest-Father, the Physician, the Druggist, the Master of the Infirmary, and the Librarian. The Abbey, as will be easily seen, is a well organized and methodically managed institution, with a fixed and substantial basis and equipage of government.

DAILY LIFE AND DISCIPLINE OF NEW MELLERAY.

In order to understand the terms which must be used in speaking of the exercises of the Trappists the following explanation of the canonical divisions of the twenty-four hours will be found essential. The twenty-four hours of the day were divided by the church into seven parts, to each of which services were assigned.

- I. *Matins and Lauds*; from midnight until *Prime*, commencing about 3 A. M. (In the case of the Trappists at 2 A. M.)
- II. *Prime*; at 6 A. M.
- III. *Tierce*; at 9 A. M.
- IV. *Sext*; at 12 (or noon).
- V. *None*; at 2 or 3 P. M.
- VI. *Vespers*; at 4 P. M.
- VII. *Compline*; about 7 P. M.¹

¹ J. J. Bond, *Book for Verifying Dates*, p. 312.

I. THE CHOIR BROTHERS.

They rise at 2 A. M., and then spend two hours in prayer. From 4 to 5:30 masses are going on. At 5:30 the canonical office of *Prime* is sung, and then the chapter exercises follow. These are over about 6 o'clock. Then the brothers go to the dormitory to arrange their beds, and after that they go to the refectory for collation. After collation the choir brothers have spiritual reading or private devotion until almost 8 o'clock. At that time the community assembles in choir for the office of Tierce and Community mass. After Community mass is said, they engage in labor until 11:30, and then assemble again in choir for the office of Sext and the Angelus. At 12 o'clock work is resumed, but the priests study until 2 o'clock. At 2 the office of None is sung in choir, and immediately after the Brethren go to the refectory for dinner. The time from the end of dinner till 4:15 is given by the choir brothers to pious reading, private devotion or study. At 4:15 they assemble again in choir for Vespers, which office together with meditation lasts until 5:15. After Vespers the time is again given to the same exercises as before Vespers until 6 o'clock. From 6 o'clock until 7 the brethren are occupied with public spiritual reading and the office of Compline and night prayer, and at 7 retire to the dormitory.

II. THE LAY BROTHERS.

The Lay Brothers spend two hours every morning in prayer and private spiritual reading. At 4 o'clock they assist at mass and serve the masses. At 5:30 they take their collation in the refectory and spend the time until nearly 2 o'clock in the afternoon in manual labor. This they resume again after dinner, viz: at 3 o'clock, and leave work at a quarter before six. From 6 to 7 they join the choir brethren at the public spiritual reading and at the office of Compline and night prayers. These are the winter exercises; the summer exercises differ principally in the addition of one or two additional hours of manual labor. The summer exercises

begin at Easter and continue until the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, on the 14th of September.

THE DAILY FOOD AND THE DORMITORY.

Nothing is more simple than the daily food of the Trappists. In New Melleray two meals are taken during the day by all, viz: one early in the morning, the second at 2:30 P. M.¹ The dinner consists of: 1st, a soup made of vegetables simply cooked in salted water. In this can be mingled a little milk. 2d, of a plate of rice or of vegetables generally cooked in milk. To these two courses is added a dessert of fruit either raw or cooked. Milk is not prohibited during Advent, Lent, and on fast days of the church, except Good Friday.² All then accommodate themselves to the dressing of the vegetables with salt and water only. This same prohibition during the same season extends to cheese or dessert. No fish or flesh are ever served in the refectory. Beer, wine and eggs are prohibited to those who are in good health, oil is not permitted to be used except for salad. Every day twelve ounces of excellent bread, baked in the monastery, is given to each religious, and he can always have potatoes in addition.

As a rule the Trappists drink only water. While the rule does not interdict cider, beer or wine, provided the latter is the "wine of the district," these are not often taken at New Melleray. The measure of the drink whether at breakfast or dinner is about a pint. Sometimes the water is flavored with the juice of fruits.

In the midst of the refectory is a raised chair from which during each repast one of the monks, appointed for that pur-

¹ In the European monasteries the early meal is generally omitted and the first meal of the day is taken at about 11:30. A collation is then served towards evening. The exigencies of the American climate, and the habits of American life have brought about the custom of taking an early meal.

² In the French monasteries milk is prohibited during Advent, Lent and on fast days of the church.

pose, reads some passage from the Holy Scriptures, from the lives of the Saints, or other pious books. Sometimes persons well known are admitted to the refectory to eat with the monks. In this case the Abbot, after the repast, washes the hands of the guests according to an old custom. But usually guests are entertained in the strangers' refectory.

All the religious sleep in the dormitory which is a long apartment containing a hundred beds or more. These beds are arranged along one aisle which traverses the dormitory. They are separated from each other by partitions six or seven feet high, and at the entrance of each from the aisle is hung a simple curtain. The mattress is of straw, the pillow is also of straw and their covering is as light as practicable. The Trappists retire to the dormitory at 7 o'clock in winter and at 8 o'clock in summer, and recline upon their beds without undressing. They sleep in their robes, the cowl only being removed, and the shoes.

Silence is absolute among the Trappists. They speak only with the permission of the Superior. In their manual labor signs and gestures answer the lack of words, and are found to suffice. The Abbot and the Guest-Father and a few officers of the community are the only members of the community who are permitted to speak without permission. The Superior and a few of the brothers appointed to wait on seculars alone speak to outsiders. It has been said, and many suppose that when one brother passes or encounters another he says, "*Frere il faut mourir.*" This however is only a myth. No such remark is made. Indeed without such a reminder the thought of death is familiar to them, and they content themselves on meeting with gestures of affection.

OTHER CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES.

At the reception of strangers in all Trappist monasteries where the "regular places" exist—*i. e.*, the lodge, the guest-house, the church, etc., the following ceremonies are observed: Two religious present themselves clothed in their long white

robes, and when they have approached the visitor they prostrate themselves, and remain for some seconds immovable at his feet, with their foreheads upon the floor. They then invite the guest by a gesture to follow them and he is conducted to the church. On returning to the guest-house one of them reads a chapter of the Imitation of Christ. Then their mission is fulfilled and they retire. After this scene, which is extremely touching, the Guest-Father appears and the visitors are conducted into the monastery.

This ceremony of reception is not used at New Melleray inasmuch as the lodge, the church and the strangers' house are not yet built.

In the rule there is contained one provision which sometimes has been stigmatized as a degradation, viz: the proclamation of faults in Chapter. When the Chapter assembles, each religious acknowledges, in the presence of all, the breaches of the Rule of which he has been guilty, and each one in turn is accused of any breach of it, which he has omitted to mention, by a brother who may have observed it. In making this confession he prostrates himself upon the floor of the Chapter room, and receives in silence the reprimand of the Abbot. This ceremony occurs daily, and would seem, if anything could, to inculcate a spirit of humility.

Everything in the monastery betokens a mortification of the senses and a close regard for the old austerities of Cîteaux. Thus there is no gold or silver used about the altar, except for the holy vessels, and upon the altars are no decorations. This simplicity is Cistercian, and was first introduced at Molsme in contrast to the magnificence of the Abbey of Cluny. It is most fully practiced at New Melleray. Music with the exception of the solemn chants of the choir is completely interdicted.

There is another usage which is significant. This is the custom of feet-washing.¹ This is practiced especially upon

¹ It is unnecessary to mention the wide-spread prevalence of this custom. In the State of Iowa it exists in the Amana Society and among the Amish.

the evening of Holy Thursday when the Abbot, the Prior occupying for the nonce the Abbot's chair, bathes and dries the feet of a dozen religious, while the feet of the rest of the community are washed by two other Fathers. This ceremony of washing the feet is commemorative of our Lord's washing the feet of His disciples on Holy Thursday.

When the Trappist comes to his last hour, if his state permit, he is placed upon his straw couch and upon cinders, clothed in his full habit. Around him the brothers pray for him until he has drawn his last breath. He is buried without a coffin, his robes are his shroud, and his last resting place is the cemetery of the monastery. A simple wooden cross bearing his monastic name and the date of his death is placed above him.

It is not true, though oftentimes asserted to be true, that the Trappist digs his own grave. The story has arisen from the fact that immediately after the burial of one of them, they trace out the form of a new grave which is to be the resting place of the next who dies.

Such is a brief history of the origin of the Trappists or Reformed Cistercians who practice at New Melleray the austerities which originated at Citeaux in 1098. Many reflections which in a strictly historical sketch would be out of place suggest themselves to every thoughtful mind. Most strongly does the tenacity of the Rule which Saint Benedict proclaimed from Monte Cassino impress itself upon one who treads the cloisters of New Melleray. It is strange in the nineteenth century and on the banks of the Mississippi, in the midst of the new and vigorous west, to see the usages of thirteen centuries ago still active and fruitful—to behold the white robe of Citeaux and the brown scapular of Benedict, to know that within the walls of New Melleray the canonical offices of the Ancient Church are chanted, and that the community preserves the customs of mediæval times. The question cannot but present itself as to what will be the future of the Abbey. Will its members increase in number, will the Amer-

ican monk replace the one of foreign birth, will the cross which now heralds a Cistercian house be thrown down, or will it multiply itself? These questions time alone can fully answer. But like all other religious communities which seclude themselves from the world and build barriers against its stress of progress, it is not unlikely that this may find its isolation fatal, and that it may prove to be the first and last Trappist Abbey west of the Mississippi.

One feels this possible truth sadly, for the self-abnegation and the self-denial and the purity of the monks cannot but command respect even in the heart of one who cannot fully sympathize with them or their phase of religion. Their faces betoken a spiritual content. There are many of them men of education, their hearts are kind and full of love for their fellow men. If such men can command respect when secluded from the world, what could they not have accomplished if they had been part and parcel of society?

APPENDIX I.

The following brief of Pope Gregory XVI. established the status of La Grande Trappe, and the general government of the Order in the year 1834. This decree of the Pope was made necessary by the disorders resulting from the French Revolution, and the extreme asceticism introduced into Valsainte by Dom Augustine after the year 1791.

“Kalendis Octobris, Anno 1834. Eminentissimi et Reverendissimi, D. D. S. R. E. Cardinales, Carolus Odescalchi, Præfectus et Rector; Carolus Maria Pedicini, et Thomas Weld, a sanctissimo domino nostro Gregorio XVI. E. S. congregatione negotiis et consultationibus episcoporum, et regularium præposita spectatus deputati, quo aptius monasteria Trappensium in Gallia instituantur et virtutibus florescant; auditus episcopis singularum diæcesium in quibus eadem monasteria erecta sunt, et audito Pater Antonio ab eadem S. congregatione visitatore deputato, censuerunt ea que sequuntur decernere et statuere.

I. Monasteria omnia Trappensium in Gallia, unam congregationem constituent, quæ appellabitur congregatio monachorum Cistercensium Beatæ Mariæ de Trappa.

II. Huic moderator generalis ordinis Cistercensis præerit, et singulos abbates confirmabit.

III. In Gallia vicarius generalis habeatur omni potestate præditus ad congregationem recte administrandum.

IV. Id muneris perpetuo conjunctum erit cum abbatia antiqui monasterii Beatæ Mariæ de Trappa, ex quo Trappenses initium habuerunt; ita ut singuli illius monasterii abbates

canonice electi potestatum simul et munis vicarii generalis consequantur.

V. Quotannis vicarius generalis tum capitulum celebrabit, reliquis abbatibus vel prioribus conventualibus accitis, tum etiam singula monasteria per se vel per alium abbatem visitabit: monasterium vero Beatæ Mariæ de Trappa a quatuor abbatibus monasteriorum Melleariensis, Portus Salutis, Bellefontis et Gardiensis visitabitur.

VI. Tota congregatio regulum Sancti Benedicti et constitutiones abbatis de Rancé observabit, salvis præscriptionibus quæ hoc decreto continentur.

VII. Pareant decreto S. Ritus congregationis diei 20 Aprilis, 1822, super rituali, missali, brevario et martyrologio quibus uti debebant.

VIII. Labor manuum ordinarius æstivo tempore ultra sex horas, et ultra quatuor et dimidiam reliquo tempore non producat. Quod vero ad jejunia, preces, et cantum chori pertinet, aut S. Benedicti regulam, aut constitutiones abbatis de Rancé, ex recepto more cujusque monasterii sequantur.

IX. Quæ articulo octavo constituta sunt, ea præsides monasteriorum, moderari possunt et mitigare pro eis monachis quos ob ætatem, aut valetudinem, aut aliam justam causam, aliqua indulgentia dignos existimaverint.

X. Quamvis monasteria Trappensium a jurisdictione episcoporum exempta sunt, ea tamen ob peculiare rationes et donec aliter statuatur, jurisdictioni eorundem episcoporum subsint qui procedant tanquam apostolicæ sedis delegati.

XI. Moniales Trappenses in Gallia ad hanc congregationem pertineant, et earum monasteria a jurisdictione, episcoporum non erunt exempta. Cura tamen uniuscujusque monasterii monialum uni aut alteri-monacho proximioris monasterii committatur. Monachos autem quos idoneos ad illud munus judicaverint episcopi delegant atque approbent, et confessarios extraordinarios e clero etiam seculari, deputare poterunt.

XII. Constitutiones, quas moniales servare in posterum debebunt, judicio Sanctæ Sedis subjiciantur.

Hoc decretum S. S. D. N. Gregorius XVI. P. P. in audentia habita a D. secretario S. congregationis negotiis et consultationibus episcoporum et regularium præpositæ, hac die 3 Octobris, anno 1834, ratum in omnibus, habuit et confirmavit et servari mandavit.

CAROLUS CARD. ODESCALCHI, *Præfect.*

JOANNES ARCHIEP. EPHE SINUS, *Secret.*

Translation.

The first day of October, 1834, their Eminences, the Most Reverend Cardinals, Odescalchi, prefect and reporter, Charles Mary Pedicini, and Thomas Weld, members of the Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Regulars, and specially deputed by our Holy Father, Gregory XVI., to devise for the Trappist monasteries in France, a form of government, by which regularity might be more duly observed, and virtue flourish; a government founded upon the reports of the Bishops, in whose dioceses the monasteries are situated, and upon the relation of Father Anthony, appointed Visitor-General by the said congregation, have decided upon, and decreed the following regulations:

I. All the Trappist monasteries in France shall form one congregation, under the name of "The Congregation of Cistercian Monks of Our Lady of La Trappe."

II. The President-General shall preside and confirm the election of the Abbots.

III. There shall be in France a Vicar-General, vested with all necessary power for the proper government of the congregation.

IV. This office shall be perpetually attached to the ancient Abbey of our Lady of La Trappe, from which the Trappists derive their origin; so the Abbots of this monastery, canonically elected, shall have the authority and the office of Vicar-General.

V. Every year the Vicar-General shall hold a general chapter, at which all the Abbots and conventual priors shall

assist. Moreover, he shall visit, either by himself or by some other Abbot, all the monasteries of the congregation. But the Abbey of our Lady of La Trappe shall be visited by the four Abbots of Melleray, Bellefontaine, Port du Salut, and Gard.

VI. The whole congregation shall follow the Rule of St. Benedict, and the Constitutions of Abbé Rancé, save in certain regulations contained in the present decree.

VII. They shall obey the decree of the Congregation of Rites, dated the 20th of April, 1822, with respect to the Ritual, Missal, Breviary, and Martyrology, which they ought to adopt.

VIII. The ordinary manual labor shall not exceed six hours in summer, and four hours and a half the rest of the year. With regard to fasts, prayers, and chanting in the choir, they shall follow either the Rule of St. Benedict, or the Constitutions of Abbé Rancé, according to the received usage of each monastery.

IX. Superiors have power to modify and mitigate the regulations contained in Art. VIII, in favor of those religious who, they believe, are deserving of some indulgence on account of age, bad health, or some other lawful reason.

X. Although Trappist monasteries are exempt from the jurisdiction of Bishops; nevertheless, for particular reasons, and until further instruction, they shall be subject to those Bishops who are delegates of the Apostolic See.

XI. The nuns of La Trappe, in France, shall be united to this congregation, but shall not be exempt from the jurisdiction of the Bishops. Yet the spiritual direction of each convent shall be confided to one or two religious from the neighboring monastery. The Bishops shall choose, and approve of the religious whom they judge eligible for this employment. They have the liberty to depute, if they please, secular priests for confessors extraordinary.

XII. The Constitutions which nuns shall observe hereafter shall be submitted to the judgment of the Holy See.

Our Holy Father, Gregory XVI., at an audience obtained

by the secretary of the Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Regulars, on the 3d of October, 1834, ratified and confirmed in all things, the present decree, and commanded it to be observed.

CARDINAL CHARLES ODESCALCHI, *Prefect.*
JOHN, ARCHBISHOP OF EPHESUS, *Secretary.*

APPENDIX II.

ACTUAL CONDITION OF THE ORDER OF CITEAUX.¹

L'Ordre de Citeaux a un Président Général, qui réside à Rome. C'est à lui qu'il appartient de confirmer, au nom du Saint-Siège Apostolique, les Abbés des divers Monastères.

Cet Ordre est aujourd'hui partagé en trois Observances distinctes: les Cisterciens de la Commune Observance, ceux de l'Observance de Sénanque, et les Cisterciens Réformés, vulgairement dits Trappists.

La Commune Observance compte environ vingt-cinq Monastères de Religieux et quarante-sept de Religieuses, situés en divers pays (Espagne, Italie, Autriche, Belgique, Pologne, etc.)

L'Observance de Sénanque, ou moyenne Observance, se compose des six monastères suivants:

1. Abbaye de Sénanque, Diocèse d'Avignon, Vancluse.
2. Abbaye de Lérins, Diocèse de Fréjus, Alpes-Maritimes.
3. N.-D. de Fontfroide, Diocèse Carcassonne, Aude.
4. N.-D. de Hautecombe, Diocèse de Chambéry, Savoie.
5. N.-D. de Ségriès, Diocèse de Digne, Basses-Alpes.
6. Un Monastère des femmes, au même Diocèse, sous le vocable de N.-D. des Prés.

¹ *Le Petit et le Grand Exorde de Citeaux.*

Preface, pp. 411-421, (Soligni-la-Trappe. Imprimerie de la Grande Trappe, 1889).

Cette Congrégation, d'origine récente, est administrée par un Vicaire Général, qui est l'Abbé de Lérins.

L'Observance des *Cisterciens réformés* ou Trappists comprend plus de quarante Monastères d'hommes et quatorze de femmes, répartis en trois Congrégations, dont l'une, la *Congrégation de la Grande-Trappe*, suit les Constitutions primitives de l'Ordre de Cîteaux, la seconde, celle de *Sept-Fons*, les règlements de l'Abbé de Rancé, et la troisième, appelée *Congrégation de Belgique*, les mêmes règlements légèrement modifiés. Chacune de ces Congrégations est gouvernée par un Vicaire Général qui est, de droit, l'Abbé de la Grande-Trappe, pour la Congrégation qui observe les Constitutions primitives.

Outre ces trois Congrégations de la Trappe, il y a encore les Trappistes de Casamari en Italie, qui ne se rattachent à aucune d'elles, et qui possèdent les trois Maisons de Casamari, Valviscioli et Saint Dominique de Sora.

LISTE DE MONASTÈRES DES TROIS CONGREGATIONS CISTERCIENNES DE LA TRAPPE.

*Tous ces Monastères sont Abbayes, sauf quelques-uns
nouvellement fondés.*

CONGREGATION DE LA GRANDE-TRAPPE MAISON MÈRE.

N.-D. de la Grande-Trappe, près Montagne (Orne), au Diocèse de Séez (siège du Vicaire Général de la Congrégation).

QUATRE PREMIERS MONASTÈRES.

N.-D. de Melleray, Bretagne (Loire-Inférieure), au Diocèse de Nantes.

N.-D. de Bellefontaine, près Cholet (Maine-et-Loire), Diocèse d'Angers.

N.-D. d'Aiguebelle, près Grignan (Drôme), Diocèse de Valence.

N.-D. de Bricquebec, au Diocèse de Coutances (Manche).

AUTRES MONASTÈRES DE LA MEME CONGREGATION.

N.-D. du Mont-Melleray, près Cappoquin, Comté de Waterford (Irlande).

N.-D. du Mont-Saint-Bernard, au Comté de Leicester (Angleterre).

N.-D. de Thymadeuc, Diocèse de Vannes (Morbihan).

N.-D. de Staouëli, Diocèse d'Alger (Afrique).

N.-D. de Gethsémani, au Kentucky (Etats-Unis).

N.-D. de la Nouvelle-Melleray, près Dubuque-Iowa (Etats-Unis).

N.-D. de Fontgombauld, Diocèse de Bourges (Indre).

N.-D. des Neiges, au Diocèse de Viviers (Ardèche).

Sainte-Marie du Désert, près Cadours (Haute-Garonne), au Diocèse de Toulouse.

N.-D. des Dombes, au Diocèse de Belley (Ain).

Abbaye des Trois-Fontaines, située aux Eaux Salviennes, près Rome, et dédiée aux saints martyrs Vincent et Anastase. Elle est commende. Outre l'Abbé commendataire, qui est un Cardinal, il y a un Abbé régulier.

N.-D. du Petit-Clairvaux, Nouvelle-Ecosse (Amérique).

N.-D. de Divielle, près Monfort (Landes), Diocèse d'Aire.

N.-D. d'Acey, Diocèse de Saint Claude (Jura).

N.-D. d'Igny, près d'Arcy-le-Ponsart (Marne), Diocèse de Reims.

N.-D. de Bonbec, Diocèse de Rodez (Aveyron).

N.-D. du Mont-Saint-Joseph par Roscréa, Comté de Tipperary (Irlande).

N.-D. du Lac, près Montréal (Canada).

N.-D. de Reichenbourg, Styrie (Autriche).

N^a S^a de Bellpuig, province de Lérida (Espagne).

N.-D. du Sacré-Cœur, à Akbès, par Alexandrette (Syrie).

MONASTÈRES DE RELIGIEUSES DE LA CONGREGATION DE LA GRANDE-TRAPPE.

N.-D. des Gardes, au Diocèse d'Angers (Maine-et-Loire).

N.-D. de Vaise, à Lyon (Rhône).

N.-D. de Maubec, Diocèse de Valence (Drôme).

N.-D. de la Cour-Pétral, près la Ferté-Vidame, au Diocèse de Chartres (Eure-et-Loir).

N.-D. de Blagnac, près Toulouse (Haute-Garonne).

N.-D. d'Espira de l'Agly, Diocèse de Perpignan (Pyrénées-Orientales).

N.-D. de Bonneval, près Espalion (Aveyron), au Diocèse de Rodez.

Monastère de San Vito, Colline de Turin (Italie).

N.-D. de Saint-Paul-aux-Bois, près Blérancourt, au Diocèse de Soissons (Aisne).

N.-D. de Lanouvelle, au Diocèse de Nîmes (Gard).

CONGRÉGATION DE SEPT-FONS.

N.-D. de Saint-Lieu-Sept-Fons, près Dompierre (Allier), au Diocèse de Moulins.

N.-D. du Port-du-Salut, au Diocèse de Laval (Mayenne).

N.-D. du Mont-des-Olives (Alsace), Diocèse de Strasbourg.

N.-D. du Mont-des-Cats, Diocèse de Cambrai (Nord).

N.-D. de la Grâce-Dieu, Diocèse de Besançon (Doubs).

N.-D. de la Double, Diocèse de Périgueux (Dordogne).

N.-D. de Chambarand, près Roybon (Isère), au Diocèse de Grenoble.

N.-D. des Iles, à Wagap (Nouvelle-Calédonie).

N.-D. de Tamié (Savoie), Diocèse de Chambéry.

Monastère de Mariastern, près Banjaluca, en Bosnie (Turquie d'Europe).

N.-D. de Résica, en Croatie (Autriche).

Et deux autres Maisons, nouvellement fondées, l'une dans la province du Cap (Afrique méridionale), l'autre en Chine près Pékin.

MONASTÈRES DE RELIGIEUSES DE LA CONGRÉGATION DE SEPT-FONS.

N.-D. de l'Immaculée-Conception, près Laval (Mayenne).

N.-D. de la Miséricorde (Elenberg), au Diocèse de Strasbourg, en Alsace.

Saint Joseph d'Ubexy, au Diocèse de Saint-Die (Vosges).
(Cet trois Monastères sont gouvernés par une Abbesse).

N.-D. du Sacré-Cœur, près Mâcon (Saône-et-Loire), au Diocèse d'Autun.

CONGREGATION DE BELGIQUE.

Abbaye de N.-D. de Westmalle (Province d'Anvers), au Diocèse de Malines.

Abbaye de Sainte-Sixte (Flandre-occidentale), au Diocèse de Bruges.

Abbaye de Saint-Benoit, à Achel, au Diocèse de Liège.

Abbaye de N.-D. de Scourmont, à Forges-les-Chimay Diocèse de Tournai.

APPENDIX III.¹

With respect to the statement that De Rancé established a stricter discipline than the Cistercian Institute, it is entirely incorrect; and likewise that he brought back the "austere primitive institute of St. Bennet." He desired to do so, but he feared that he and his religious would not be able to support the rigorous fasts enjoined by the usages of Cîteaux, and grounded upon the rule of St. Benedict. In 1672, on the Feast of All Saints, he commenced with his community the strict winter fast of taking but one meal in the day; and this not till after none, about half-past two P. M. They continued this fast till the following Easter, 1673. When De Rancé had remarked the weakness, the exhaustion of his brethren, he trembled for their health and adopted the following mitigations: During the winter season, from the 14th of September till Easter, dinner was to be taken at twelve o'clock, except on the fasts of the church, when it was taken half an hour later. In the evening, there was a collation of two ounces of bread, with salad, milk or cheese; and on fasts of the church,

¹ Consult *Les Réglemens de l'Abbaye de Notre Dame de la Trappe en Forme de Constitutions* (1690); also *Les Trappistes de l'Ordre de Cîteaux au XIX. Siècle, etc.*, par M. Casimir Gaillardin (2 vols., 1844.)

one ounce of bread. During the summer season, the dinner was taken at half-past ten A. M., and the collation at five in the evening. Compare these regulations of diet with the usages of Cîteaux, or with the 41st chapter of St. Benedict's Rule, and it will be found as De Rancé himself states, that the strict observance of Cîteaux was not observed at La Trappe in his time.

On Sundays and festivals a public conference was held for an hour, in which the brethren were allowed to speak upon spiritual and edifying subjects. This was undoubtedly a relaxation of the strict and perpetual silence enforced by the usages of Cîteaux, at least with respect to public conversation. The choir religious had not so much manual labor under De Rancé as under St. Stephen.

APPENDIX IV.

OF ABSTINENCE.

¹All these examples, though so interesting, will not affect you, my brethren, so sensibly, as the remembrance of the austerities practiced by the holy founders of the Cistercian Order. The plan of life laid down by our fathers at the birth of this great Order, will place the dreadful state in which you behold it at present in the clearest light; and I doubt not, that when you shall have considered the almost infinite distance that exists between the father and the children, you will exclaim with St. Bernard, "Oh! the monks of those times, and those of our unhappy days." What a difference! Those saints proposed, as we have already said, the literal observance of St. Benedict's Rule; such was their end, and they were influenced by divine inspiration; wherefore they rejected every interpretation and meaning by which the severity of

¹ *De Rancé, A Treatise on the Sanctity and on the Duties of the Monastic State.* Vol. II., pp. 130-32.

that rule might be alleviated or its purity altered. This same austerity they transmitted to their successors, as an obligation to which they called the attention of their minds and hearts, and commanded them to persevere unto the last moment of life; such is the express injunction of the charter of the foundation.

Now to the end that they might live conformably to this duty, they would allow themselves no other food than pulse, herbs, roots and pottage; the sauce for which was nothing better than salt and water. Their bread was brown and coarse, they drank wine but very rarely, and it never appeared on their table without being previously mixed with water. On days of two meals their supper consisted only of plain vegetables, except during the harvest time. Eggs and fish were seldom known amongst them, except for the sick; they fasted conformably to St. Benedict's Rule, from the Exaltation of the Holy Cross to Easter, and from Whitsuntide to the middle of September on all Wednesdays and Fridays; on all fasting days of the church they abstained from milk, butter, and cheese, which abstinence they likewise observed during Lent, Advent, and all Fridays throughout the year, except during the Pascal time. The first three Fridays of Lent they deprived themselves of one of the two ordinary dishes, and the three last they had nothing but bread and water; though their labors were extremely hard, and their night watchings very long. Yet so great was their love of Jesus Christ, that their penance was very agreeable to them, and they even found pleasure and satisfaction in their sufferings.

* * * * *

¹But if we desire to know what the spirit of Saint Benedict is in this particular, we cannot address ourselves to more enlightened masters than the holy founders of the Cistercian Order. Like so many Esdrasses, they were chosen by God to re-establish the rule of that great saint, which was then no longer observed, and to revive his true spirit; for that end

¹ *De Rancé, A Treatise on the Sanctity and on the Duties of the Monastic State.* Vol. II., pp. 141-3.

they resolved to take it in a purely literal sense, and to establish its observance according to the true end of its institution, as we have before remarked; wherefore they rejected every meaning and explication which were not conformable to its purity: they began by renouncing the use of flesh granted by the assembly of Aix-la-Chapelle; they established a rigorous and unlimited abstinence from all flesh, without distinction of quadrupeds or fowl.

It is declared in the fourth chapter of the institutes, that none but those who are very sick and infirm shall be allowed the use of flesh, within the enclosure of any monastery of the Order; which permission is also extended to servants or tradesmen, who work for hire in the monastery. This is absolute, and admits of no distinction.

This statute has been frequently renewed on several occasions, and we find it forbidden elsewhere under the pain of corporal chastisement, to all and every person of the Order, to eat flesh in any place out of the infirmary, though he should be commanded to do so by the Bishop. And it is moreover enjoined, that no Abbot on account of recent bleeding, or any such like pretext, shall presume to eat flesh, unless he is attacked with a real malady, or fit of sickness. And this is also absolute.

We find a similar prohibition in another place: behold here a summary of what it enjoins. Let the injunctions of the rule, relative to the use of flesh meat, be inviolably observed, namely, that no member of the order shall eat meat out of the infirmary, under pain of excommunication,¹ to be incurred, *ipso facto*, or by the very act; if the offender be an officer, he shall be deposed, nor shall he be reinstated in any charge or employment, without a permission being first obtained of the general chapter for that purpose; if he be only a private religious, he shall be deprived of the religious habit during two months for every offense; this is also absolute.

There is also a constitution of Pope Benedict the XII.,

¹ Monastic, not ecclesiastical excommunication.

who having been a religious of the Cistercian Order, was perfectly well acquainted with its true spirit and observances, for he drew up the constitution of which we speak, and proposed it as a remedy against the relaxations which were introduced. He speaks thus: "Let no religious or Abbot, in future, presume to eat meat out of the common infirmary, or any food prepared with ingredients of the like nature, contrary to what has been so long established in this Order: we revoke entirely the permissions which some Abbots pretend to have obtained of the see apostolic, to use flesh meat, as privileges that produce only scandal." After which he enjoins that every time a religious, whether of the choir or of the lay character, infringes the above ordinance, by eating flesh meat, or any food prepared with it, or partaking of it, of whatsoever sort it may be, he shall be condemned to fast on bread and water three days, and moreover that he be enjoined a penance, with the regular discipline; and if the Abbot neglect to enforce these injunctions, he shall fast on bread and water, as if he himself had eaten flesh.

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¹Saint Benedict, who orders that the superior should always eat with the visitors, and requires for that purpose, that there should be no separate kitchen for them, does not allow them any other food but that of the community. This is what the first religious of Citeaux, who were animated with his spirit constantly observed. Their first constitutions, called the Book of the Usages, inform us that the brother who was appointed cook of the Abbot's kitchen was to go into the garden after the office of prime, and there gather a sufficient quantity of legumes for the Abbot and strangers, who may have come to the monastery. But nothing can better demonstrate how exact they were in this point than what passed at Clairvaux, when Pope Innocent II. came to visit that house. He was received by the monks in a manner so simple, and so religious, that his suite were no less surprised than edified. The

¹ *De Rancé, A Treatise on the Sanctity and on the Duties of the Monastic State.* Vol. II., pp. 157-8.

bread, according to the author of Saint Bernard's life, instead of being made with pure white flour, was mixed, and the wine was also adulterated; vegetables appeared on the table in place of turbot, and legumes were served at every course; a dish of fish was by some chance found and laid before his Holiness, more for the purpose of being seen by the assembly than of being eaten.

Nevertheless, those holy religious did not treat their visitors according to all the rigor of the common rules, for we find by their first statutes, that the bread which was served to the strangers was white like that given to the sick; but whatever the mode observed in the reception of visitors might have been, they were careful that charity should never do any injury to regularity; every part of their lives evinced their spirit of penance, and the whole tenor of their conduct affords us as great a subject of edification as does the simplicity of their table.

Hence we must observe, my brethren, that although something of the regular austerity may be diminished in favor of strangers, and although we are to condescend to a more gentle observance in the entertainment of those who visit us than what we allow ourselves, since both charity and the example of the saints inculcate and require it, yet we ought to be guided in the practice of this indulgence by exact rules; and be convinced that there is no time, no circumstance, nor occasion, in which monks ought not to remember how much they are bound to depart from the custom and manners of the world, according to this great maxim of Saint Benedict: *that monks should be entire strangers to the ways and customs of worldlings*. But now, unfortunately, there is a strange subversion of order: when we consider that formerly the great ones of the world, princes and emperors found the condemnation of their profusion and voluptuousness in the temperance and sobriety of monks, whereas in these our times worldly people find in the abundance of the cloistral table a sufficient pretext to authorize their sensuality and love of pleasure. This is an evil which Pope Clement VIII. endeavored to remove

when he enjoined in a decretal, that if any person of distinction should come to visit monasteries, whether from a motive of piety, or from any other, they should be allowed to dine in the refectory, and be served only with the common food; and that the religious should conduct themselves on such occasions with so much propriety that religious sobriety and poverty might appear in all their simple and amiable attractions.

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OF PERPETUAL SILENCE.

¹There can be no advantage extracted from silence in a religious community unless it be uninterruptedly observed. For conversations, though short and seldom, will be found, if allowed, equally noxious and dangerous; the moments will be carefully managed, and the brethren will soon discover the secret of saying a great deal in a little time. When they shall be forced to break off, and leave their conversations imperfect, they will not forget to finish them at the next meeting. And as it is impossible that the desire of discoursing should not increase, so they will agree on the time and place to find out the means of satisfying themselves, without consulting either the will of the superior or the rules of the house, which would be in effect the ruin of discipline and the extinction of piety.

But if silence be perpetual, the brethren will consider its observance as indispensable, the most considerable advantages shall be derived from it, and it shall appear that nothing is better calculated to maintain good order, and promote the sanctification of the cloister.

First, having no communication with one another, and forming none of those familiarities which almost generally produce contempt, they shall behold each other with respect, and their charity will suffer no alloy.

Secondly, if any should be found inclined to evil, his propensities shall be enclosed within himself, and all communication of the evil shall be prevented by the barriers of silence.

¹ *De Rancé, A Treatise on the Sanctity and on the Duties of the Monastic State.* Vol. II., pp. 106-7.

Thirdly, no factions or murmuring parties will be ever formed amongst the brethren, such an evil not being possible when there is no communication.

Fourthly, the correspondence and intimacy which ought to exist between the members and the head will be more connected when not divided by any particular conversations or friendships.

Fifthly, the superiors will never find any opponents, when they shall desire to make new arrangements, for the preservation of good order and the perfection of the community. And though a religious might not have the same ideas, yet he will not presume to make it appear, lest he should find no one amongst the brethren who would side with him.

Sixthly, as the heart and interior man will find no means to diffuse and enervate its principles by vain and idle discourse, so recollection will be more uninterrupted, thoughts more pure, contemplation more sublime and lively, prayer more fervent and continual; and thus the soul will ascend to a union with God, so much the more intimate and holy, as it shall have renounced for his love all communication with men.

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¹Wherefore, my brethren, silence cannot be too rigorously observed, nor can the members of a religious community be too far removed from the dangers resulting from conversation. For if they once obtain leave to speak, they will use the dangerous liberty in speaking of unlawful topics; they will transgress the bounds prescribed, if they perceive that they may speak, and entertain one another concerning things unconnected with their salvation; they will extend their conversations to everything without restriction; they will mutually unfold their thoughts, temptations, imaginations, pains and discontents; they will establish a place of refuge in each other's breasts against future wants and affairs; they will link in the bonds of a false and particular charity, which is never constructed but on the ruins of that love, which is, and ought

¹ *De Rancé, A Treatise on the Sanctity and on the Duties of the Monastic State.* Vol. II., pp. 108-9.

to be, common amongst all the members. The words of Saint Ambrose on this subject are well deserving notice: "What necessity can you have," says he, "to expose yourself by keeping silence? I have seen a great many fall by speaking, but *never one by silence.*"

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¹Saint Benedict, who was well informed on this subject and who considered it in the same manner, was so exact in the observance of silence that he will not allow his disciples to speak, unless they are asked a question, or moved by some real necessity. He orders that the permission of speaking be only seldom granted to the religious, even to such as are perfect (that is, such as would not make any bad use of a necessary permission to speak), though their words should be holy, and their subjects edifying. In fine, that holy legislator makes the observance of silence a constant rule, which ought to occupy the attention of religious persons at all times.

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²Saint Bernard and all his brethren observed a silence so profound that those that did not understand either the greatness or the excellency of this secret, censured their conduct as being the effect of stupidity.

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³The religious who were formed by that great saint, and filled with his spirit, were so zealous for this holy exercise, and thought it so important, that they instituted signs to treat of necessary matters, that so they might never be obliged to speak. *The practice of silence sanctified the whole Cistercian Order:* the Carthusians followed their example, and obliged their lay brethren to observe it with rigorous exactitude; so much so, that they have kept it ever since with the same fidelity as the fundamental rule of entire solitude.

It is difficult to resist the force of these convincing truths. And a Superior who applies himself to the duty of inculcating

¹ *De Rancé, A Treatise on the Sanctity and on the Duties of the Monastic State.* Vol. II., p. 113.

² *Ibid.*, p. 114.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 115.

them to his brethren in a proper manner, must at last succeed in persuading them that the practice of silence is absolutely necessary for their sanctification and perfection.

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OF MANUAL LABOR.

¹Saint Benedict makes it a principal obligation. Idleness, says he, is the enemy of the soul; wherefore the brethren shall be employed at certain times in manual labor. He requires that they should work at the harvest, and in bringing home the corn, when the necessity or poverty of the place requires it; and he exhorts them to do it with pleasure; because, says he, they shall be then truly monks, when they shall live by the labor of their hands, as our fathers and apostles have done. And it appears by many passages of his Rule, that he considers manual labor as one of the most important practices of the religious life.

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²Saint Bernard considered manual labor so important and so necessary that he obtained of God by his fervent prayers both the necessary skill and facility to reap the corn, and work at the harvest; and when the brethren were employed at labor that required more strength than he had, he compensated for his inability by digging, carrying wood on his shoulders, and applying himself to other humiliating employments of the monastery.

As to the time they employed in this exercise, it may be learned by consulting the Rule of Saint Benedict, and by their first constitutions. In general, they labored during the summer, from the end of the chapter, or daily assembly (which met always after prime), until tierce, and from none until vespers. In winter, from the conventual mass until none, and during Lent, until vespers; during the harvest, when they worked on the farms, they said prime, the conventual mass,

¹ *De Rancé, A Treatise on the Sanctity and on the Duties of the Monastic State.* Vol. II., p. 172.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 178-9.

and tierce without interruption; so that they might apply themselves to their work, without impediment, during the rest of the forenoon. They frequently said the divine office in the same place where they worked, and at the same time that their brethren at home sung it in the choir.

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¹One of the principal reasons which induced the solitaries of former times to apply themselves to manual labor, and to lay down such rigorous and general rules for that exercise, was that their whole time might be employed, that there might be no empty space in their lives, and to prevent the fatal consequence of sloth and idleness; being well persuaded, that as soon as they would cease to be employed in holy occupations, it would be impossible for them to avoid being engaged in evil ones; for inaction opens the door to every vice, and closes it to every virtue. Hence the ancient solitaries of Egypt used to say, that the religious who worked was tempted by only one devil, whereas he who spends his time in sloth and idleness is attacked by a great number; all of which combat against him in various ways.

In effect, as sloth destroys all the vigor of the soul, extinguishes that holy fervour which is the principle of its motions in some sense, so it binds up its faculties in the links of dispirited affections, and obstructs its active powers, so that the heart can produce no good affection, nor the spirit form any good thought; and hence, when the passions are irritated and temptations take up arms, the religious is no ways prepared to resist their united efforts; the invisible enemies, taking advantage of his disordered and impotent state, attack him furiously, and carry him a resistless captive wheresoever they please; and this unfortunate soul fails not to rush into every snare they lay, for he may be considered as a man without defence, and exposed to all the darts of his malicious and cruel enemies.

When this vice becomes master of the soul, says Cassian,

¹ *De Rancé, A Treatise on the Sanctity and on the Duties of the Monastic State.* Vol. II., pp. 179-81.

it either engages the solitary to remain in his cell in a state of inaction, without doing anything for his spiritual advancement, or it drives him forth, and makes him wander from place to place in a constant round of instability; that so, becoming incapable of any good, he may do nothing more than run from one cell to another, from monastery to monastery, on pretext of visiting his brethren; but in effect, being led on by no other motive but that of finding a good repast, for the slothful are frequently influenced by the care of what they shall eat. Behold the true state of such persons; thus they go on, until they find some man or woman in the same slothful and effeminate dispositions, in whose embarrassing affairs they may engage themselves without scruple. Thus they undertake the most dangerous occupations, without scruple, and by little and little they yield themselves up to the serpent's folds, from whence they cannot extricate themselves; hence they no longer enjoy that liberty, so necessary to labor in attaining the perfection of their state.

The holy fathers, whose rules we have before cited, were of this opinion, nor had Saint Benedict any other, for he takes express notice in his rule, that of the motives which induced him to enjoin manual labor, the greatest was to secure the brethren from idleness, which he considers as a cruel enemy of the soul. This was also the opinion of the holy Abbot Paul—this great anchorite, having labored with great assiduity, burned all his works at the end of the year, because he lived so remote from all society that he could not send them to any market.

The second reason that induced the ancient solitaries to recommend manual labor so earnestly was that they thought it unbecoming for persons who made profession of the solitary life to eat that bread which they had not gained by the sweat of their brow; they understood that sentence of the holy scripture as being literally addressed to themselves:—“*Thou shalt eat thy bread in the sweat of thy brow.*” And they believed that nothing was more agreeable, nor more conformable to the condition of penitents, who by their vocation were

charged with the sins of men, than to bear the punishment which God was pleased to inflict for their sins. They were persuaded that the prohibition addressed by Saint Paul to the Thessalonians, "If any one will not work, neither let him eat," was a precept which obliged all monks; and that the sentence which the same apostle made no difficulty to pronounce against those who were engaged in secular concerns, was with much more reason addressed to those who renounced them, by being consecrated to the exercises of a poor and penitential life.

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¹The Cistercian monks were not less exact in observing this part of the rule, than they were in every other; but it is useless to repeat here what we have already said of their great and various labors.

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APPENDIX V.

ASSESSED VALUATION OF ALL PROPERTY OWNED BY THE CORPORATION OF NEW MELLERAY OF DUBUQUE COUNTY, IOWA.²

	NUMBER.	VALUE.
Acres,	2441.93	\$30,666.00
Horses,	54	1,000.00
Cattle,	285	1,735.00
Sheep,	270	270.00
Swine,	90	100.00
Vehicles,	3	30.00

Grand Total of all Property, . . \$33,801.00

(Signed) GEORGE W. SHRUP,
Deputy Auditor of Dubuque County, Iowa.

¹ *De Rancé, A Treatise on the Sanctity and on the Duties of the Monastic State.* Vol. II., p. 208.

² The above is a transcript from the Auditor's book based on an assessment of 33½ per cent. of actual value.

APPENDIX VI.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE AS TO SOURCES.

That part of this monograph which has been written entirely from original and hitherto unpublished sources is embraced under the title "New Melleray." The material has been obtained from the records of New Melleray Abbey, from the manuscripts transmitted to the author by the monks of that monastery, and from oral communications of the Father Superior and of Father Placid.

APPENDIX VII.

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